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EMANUEL DOWNING

BY

FREDERICK JOHNSON SIMMONS

1958

A NARRATIVE OUTLINE

FOR A BIOGRAPHY

OF

1214107

EMANUEL DOWNINGE

1585-1660

of the

Inner Temple,

LAWYER, DUBLIN, IRELAND, LONDON, ENGLAND

SALEM, MASS., AND EDINBURGH, SCOTLAND;

MEMBER, MASSACHUSETTS BAY COMPANY, LONDON, ENG.,

ADVISOR TO GOV. JOHN WINTHROP,

AND

DEFENDER OF THE CHARTER OF THE MASSACHUSETTS

BAY COLONY

By

FREDERICK JOHNSON SIMMONS

1958

TO THE BRIDGE BETWEEN THE 17th CENTURY AND THE PRESENT

"The Kinge of Sweden goes on very prosperously, and carries all before him in Germany: there is newes lately come that he hath ouer throwne the Duke of Fridland, the Emperours Generall, which if it is true, he will make a shorte worke of the Warrs in Germany.

You haue a litle bird in your cuntrie that makes a humminge noyse, a little bigger then a bee. I pray send me one of them ouer, pfect in his fethers, in a litle box."

Em: Downing, London, Eng., to John Winthrop, Jr., Nov. 1, 1632.

"Pray be more watchfull for your health, that you oppresse not your bodye nor spirits with the publique affaires, but rather spare yourselfe a while that you may be the better enabled for tyme to come: cold and wett espetially of your feet are two great traytors to your health, and must be watched verie narrowly, verie narrowly."

Em: Downing to John Winthrop, March 2, 1632.

"His Majesty sent him (Sir George Downing) two of his Doctors: at last they all agreed to put him in a bath wh. it pleasing God to blesse, by degrees did giue him some ease. I suppose you have heard how his Majesty, made him Knight Baronet & gaue him a thousand pounds as a token of his favor.

My son George hath another son wh. he called William, Ye Prince of Orange was his Godfather.

Lucy Downing, East Hartly, Eng. to John Winthrop, Jr., Feb. 1663.

My scribe is a scott, and makes such pittifull English, next to nonsense; but he only wayts upon my husban and not imployed for the Councell busines."

Lucy Downing, Edinburgh, Scot. to John Winthrop, Jr. March 27, 1658.



Courtesy of the Essex Institute

H. Peter — Em. Downing — Gov. Simon Bradstreet House
Salem, Mass. Downings 1646-1656.

Emmanuel Downing House, Salem, 1640, from a sketch
Gov. Simon Bradstreet lived here 1676-1697.

EMANUEL DOWNING

Early Environment and Ancestry

In England in the time of George Downing, the father of Emanuel — approximately from 1540 to the end of the century were born, brought to influence, and some to power, Marlowe, Shakespeare, Jonson, Milton, Sidney, Donne, Bacon, Hooker, Sir Francie Drake, the Cecils, Releigh, Sir Edward Coke, Pym, and Oliver Cromwell. The writings, ideas, and acts of these men in the main, and some others, furnished the ferment for the age of letters, of the advancement of science, of voyages of discovery, of world trade for England, of new adventures in government, of English colonization in the New World, and above all of the Puritan Revolution.

In 1584 Sir Walter Mildmay founded and endowed a new college at the University of Cambridge, England, by the name of Emanuel College, a strong Puritan name (God-with-us). When Queen Elizabeth soon after met her Chancellor of the Exchequer petulently remarked, "So, Sir Walter, I hear you have erected a Puritan Foundation;" to which the aged Sir Walter shrewdly replied, "no, Madam, far be it for me to countenance anything contrary to your established laws, but I have set an acorn, which when it has become an oak, God alone knows what will be the fruit thereof."

One year later George Downing, B.A., 1573, Queens College, University of Cambridge, Eng., and M.A. 1577, Corpus Christi, Cambridge, and wife, on Aug. 12, 1585, saw their eldest son baptized, Emanuel, at St. Lawrence Church, Ipswich, co. Suffolk, Eng. Tradition informs us that the son was named for the new Emanuel College in his father's University.

These were stirring times in which to be born, to pass one's youth, and to channel a useful career. Sir Francis Drake from 1577 to 1580 had circumnavigated the Globe in the "Golden Hind," and had upset Spanish trade and security. Sir Walter Raleigh in the same year of Emanuel's birth 1585 attempted the planting of an English Colony at Roanoke, Va., in America. 1588 was the year of the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots, and during this period Philip of Spain made preparations to invade England, culminating in disaster for him and the defeat of the Spanish Armada. The defeat of Philip practically ended the struggle of Queen Elizabeth with Philip of Spain. And in faith England became securely protestant, and in trade Mistress of the Seas.

There were rapid changes in all phases of English life from 1585 to 1611, which surely influenced young Emanuel Downing, and prepared him, years later from 1626 to 1654 to render (although in a minor role), important and far-reaching services to Gov. John Winthrop and to the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and by one particular act (explained later), probably to save its charter.

Emanuel Downing's ancestry can be traced to his grand-father George Downing (1525-1564), who lived at Beccles on Waveney, seventeen miles southeast of Norwich, England. His will dated Dec. 15, 1561 gives ample evidence of his faith in education, a faith of the Downing family through the centuries, by making provision for the education of his sons, John and George at the Grammar School and at the University of Cambridge, Eng. Both of these sons attended the University, and son George (1556-1611), the father of Emanuel, was graduated from Queens College, University of Cambridge, B.A. 1573, and M.A. Corpus Christi 1577, having entered the University in 1569. He was Master of the Grammar School, Ipswich, Eng., from 1589 to 1610. He, like his father before him had seen to it, that his sons were well educated and provided for. Of these sons, Emanuel became a lawyer, Nathaniel (Gent.), a London businessman, Joseph a Churchman, Rector of St. Stephens, Ipswich, Eng., and Joshua one of Commissioners of the Navy, and Justice of the Peace, Kent, Eng., and his daughters made good and suitable alliances with the Kirby, Hill, and Goade families.

There are little data, on which to reconstruct the early years of Emanuel Downing's life. Since his father was Master of the Grammar School from 1589 to 1610, it may be conjectured that he prepared for college there. It is known that he entered and was admitted Scholar at Trinity Hall, (founded in 1350) University of Cambridge, Eng. Dec. 16, 1603, three months before the death of Queen Elizabeth. Trinity Hall was then well known for Courses in law. It is also known that Emanuel Downing was a lawyer in The Inner Temple, London, England, and for several years practiced law in Dublin, Ireland. He was admitted along with his brother-in-law John Winthrop to the Court of Wards in 1626, where he was an able practitioner, having many distinguished clients.

Marriages

On June 7, 1614 Emanuel Downing married Anne Ware, the daughter of Sir James Ware, who was knighted in 1616 by James I, and sent to Dublin, Ireland as Secretary, and sister of the famous Irish antiquarian James Ware.

There were three children by this marriage, James Downing born about 1615, Susan Downing born about 1617, who possibly became the 2nd wife of Robert Roberts of Ipswich, Mass., and Mary Downing born about 1620, who was the 1st wife of Anthony Stoddard.

It is not known when Emanuel Downing first arrived in Dublin, Ire., but one may suspect that about 1617 he followed his father-in-law Sir James Ware and wife Mary (Brydon) Ware, a short year after Sir James Ware was settled in Dublin, Ireland as Secretary (under James I), of this dominion.

Anne (Ware) Downing probably died ^{1617 or 1621} about 1620 or soon thereafter, for Emanuel Downing was married on April 10, 1622, at the Groton Manor Church, Groton co. Suffolk, England, to his second wife Lucy Winthrop, the daughter of Adam, and Anne (Browne) Winthrop.

In Ireland — Birth of George Downing

Lucy and Emanuel Downing went to Dublin, Ireland in 1622, and lived there until late in 1625. In a letter of John Winthrop to his son John Winthrop, the younger, as early as Aug. 6, 1622, he speaks of his son's uncle Downing, and on Aug. 12, 1623, he writes to John Winthrop, the younger that he may come over to Chester, Eng., where he will hope to see him, if his Uncle Downing comes; in this same letter, he speaks of his sister Lucy Downing. "Impart my joy in her safe deliverance we long to hear of." This letter sets very nearly the date of birth of Emanuel's and Lucy Downing's son George Downing. In a letter Oct. 3, 1623 he directs his son thus, "You must be careful to visit your aunt, and help her to be cheerful in this time of your Uncles absence." Worth Winthrop, in 1623 as a student at the celebrated Free Grammar School, founded by Edward VI., at Bury St. Edmunds, writes to his older brother John at the Trinity College, Dublin, Ireland, "to remember him to his Aunt and Uncle Downing." The following excerpts make it quite evident that Emanuel and Lucy Downing had the care and oversight of their nephew John Winthrop, the Younger from August 1622 to June 1624; — Oct. 16, 1622 John Winthrop writes to his son, "I must acknowledge the great care and kindness of your uncle and aunt toward you. It may be much to your good, if you be careful to make right use of it, as I hope you do; for I hear you love your study well." And on March 26, 1623, "For your apparal desire your uncle to furnish you for this present." and again on April 20, 1623, "And though I have sent over no money all this time, it was not through any neglect of thee but upon that assurance which I had of thy uncle and aunt their care of thee."



Lucy (Winthrop) Downing's Grandfather,
Adam Winthrop, 1498-1562
An Alert, Shrewd, and Sagacious Business-man

Emanuel Downing and his wife Lucy were in Dublin, Ireland from 1622 to 1625. During this time their son George Downing (later Sir George Downing), was born in the summer, probably Aug. 1623. Their other children were born in England and America, Lucy c.1625, Johsua 1627, Robert 1629, Adam 1631, Anne 1633, and Martha 1636; Joshua, Robert, and Anne were baptized at St. Brides, Fleet St., London. There were two other children, Dorcas born at Salem, Mass., and John born at Salem, Mass., 1640.

In London, Eng. — 1625-1638

The London home of the Downings was at the Sign of the Bishop over against the Conduit in Fleet, St., and in 1636 it was at Lincoln's Field near the Golden Lion Tavern, — official Chamber in Inner Temple Lane, London, England.

Early Correspondence of Emanuel Downing with Sir John Coke

In the following five letters of Emanuel Downing to Sir John Coke, from 1623 to 1632, show not only Downing's many legal and political interests but also introduce us to the early correspondence between the two men, and especially to those letters of Emanuel Downing that as a strategy, continually from 1631 to 1636 informed Sir John Coke of conditions in New England, such as those that emphasized the advantage to English trade in protecting the Massachusetts Plantation, the possibility of ship-building in New England, trade in masts etc., and more over to those letters that showed up the intrigue in the scandalous reports of the enemies of the Colony, and to those that gave evidence in defence of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, before the Privy Council.

The first letter of 1623 deals with a plea for free trade and cause of the Mariners (seamen), against the Gild of Staplers, a group that ~~was~~ strong in the 15th and 16th Centuries, and only a little less so in the 17th.

The term staple (in England) was applied to the towns (small rural), which were appointed by the King to be merchants of the Staple, that is, the merchants had a monopoly of trade in staple commodities, such as wool, leather, tin, lead etc."

1623/4 March 10, London, Eng., Emanuel Downing to Sir John Coke, Esquire. The Merchants pleading antiquity caused me send Your Worship, the order of their first institution. The Company of Staplers began about 400 years past tempore Edw, III. The main cause of their first institution was to

see the Customs duly paid and lest they should Monopolize trade as now they do there are divers good lawes to prevent them and to establish free trade. The Merchant Adventurers began in the time of Henry 4th. From time to time as they renewed their grants they encroached upon the liberties of free trade. In the 22nd, year of Henry 7th complaint was made against these Companies, when liberty of free trade was granted paying a small fine. 40 or 50 of the 3 or 400 of them now manage the whole trade. Our Mariners (sailors) groan under the burthen for that non or few of these are, free of their Companies."

The 2nd letter deals with a Judgeship in Ireland;—

Ireland 1625 Sept. 2, Groton

England, Emanuel Downing to Sir John Coke.

"I understand from Mr. George Verney that the King's letter to place Mr. Mayart in Judge Lether's office in Ireland rests in your custody until 400L shall be deposited in your hands for it. I gave Mr. Verney a bond to pay him 400L with in one month after Mr. Mayart should be settled in the place. The sickness had prevented me from coming to London."

"1631 Juli 6, Fleet Street, Emanuel Downing to Sir John Coke, Knight, Secretary of State. I have delivered the King's letter to one read in the Signet office, to be entered, who told me Your honour was to sign it before he could read it, for directions are sent into Ireland that such like letters shall not take effect, unless they be under one of the Secretaries' hands."

The next letter is of particular interest for its revelation of the method of land grants and population — distribution and control, as well as religious conflicts.

1631 September 20, Emanuel Downing to Sir John Coke, Knight, Principal Secretary to His Majesty, and one of His Highness' honourable Privy Council.

I grieve the Lord of B. is come over to purchase the land granted to Mr. Read; but I hope no importunity of his shall frustrate this good work which may be done by a plantation there. If your Honour shall think fit to give him a recompence, as though the land were really his and to be taken from him for His Majesty's service, and to be planted with English, then Your Honour may procure him a proportion in Connaught, Wicklow or Osmond which will fall into His Majesty's hands to be planted. Now by this removal you shall imitate the ancient policy of this state there, as when a plantation was extended in the East, then the principal heads of the Irish were removed

and planted in the West, and e Contro; so when Queen Elizabeth planted the Queen's County removed the principal Irish into the County of Kerry, where being from their Allegiance and friends, hod no power to do any hurt.

A second benefit is this — where such Irish are planted in foreign parts among the English they commonly take most if not all the envy of the remaining natives from the English. Judge Mayart writes to me out of Ireland that a priest in Westmouth went into one of our churches to say Mass, and as he entered the Church he said, "Fogh! I smell the stink of a protestant," and before he would say mass caused the people to dig up the body being buried there, and threw it into the bog.

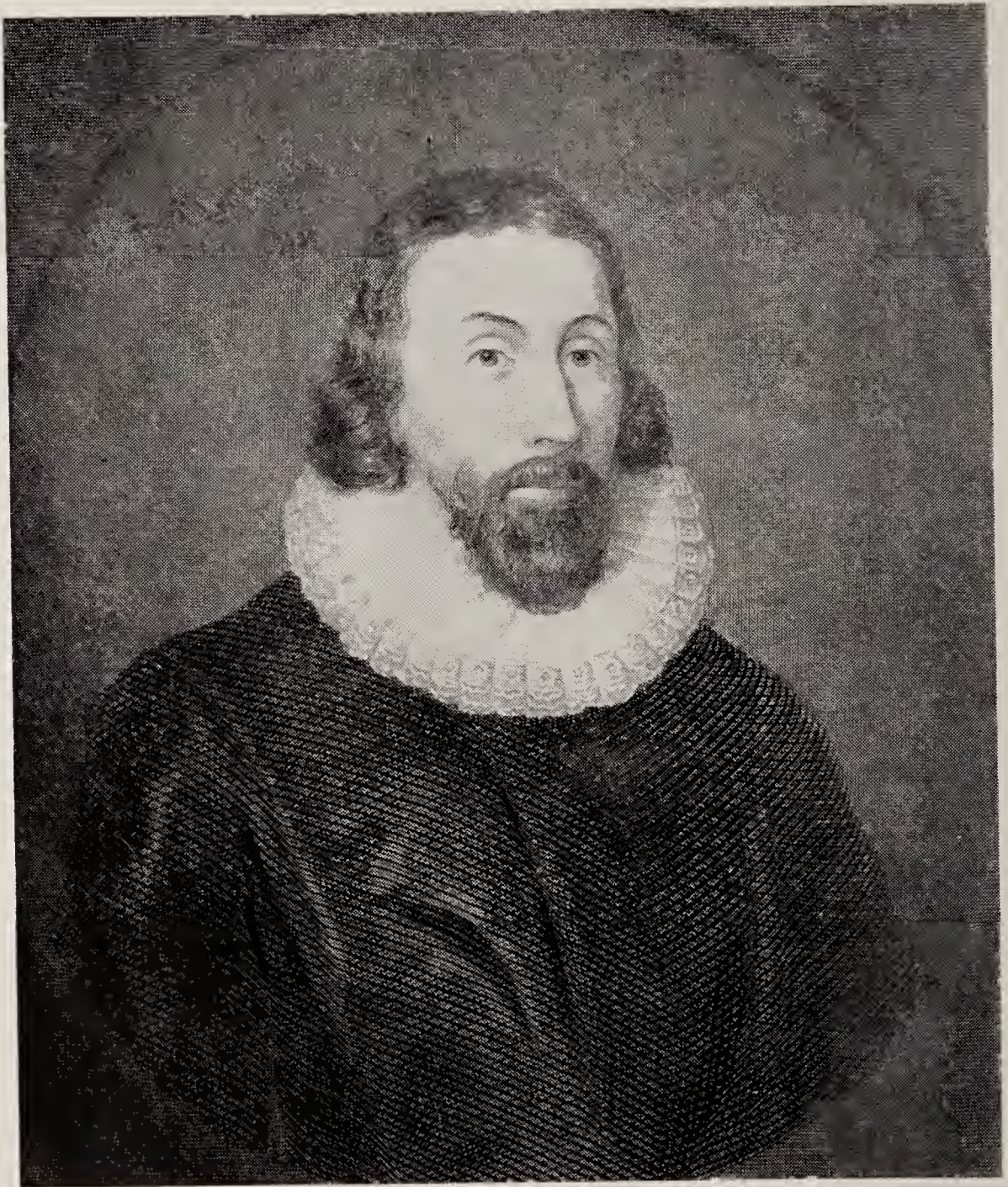
1632 July 18. Emanuel Downing to Sir John Coke.

Settlement of the fees of the subpeona Office by a late agreement between the Lord Chancellor, Master of the Rolls, Clerk of the Hansper" for the Seal" and the Clerk that makes the writ Viz, sixpence for each. I understand the Master of the Rolls will listen to no composition. I humbly entreat Your Honour that it may pass for sixpence to the King for every seal as the letter is already drawn with Your Honor; and for the 500 pounds for yourself it will be readily performed as soon as the grant shall be passed."

The Reade land grant seemed to have been settled satisfactorily for March 4, 1633/4 Robert Merideth wrote to Emanuel Downing, Esquire, the following; — About six days past I wrote you that I had encountered the ready way for effecting of our affair concerning Burke's land one third share must be allowed unto some here near unto the Deputy. If that be yielded unto them, there remains no other scruples then causing His Majesty's letter in Mr. Reads name to be renewed and directed to the Lord Deputy who hath thereupon given full assurance to pass the grant, in the most advantageous manner, His Lordship doth well, like the former letter, but hath directed to be added a clause touching the commission of defective titles. My own interest I trust will no less than I propounded for when I first set the business on foot.

Emanuel's Legal Work, and Friendly Advice

Besides Emanuel Downing's law work in the Court of Wards and Liveries, lawyer for men in Parliament, and in land grant business, he was also an intermediary for Clients seeking government appointments to Judgeships and public offices, such as his success with the placing in a judgeship in Ireland, Mr. Mayart, and the following letter show evidence.—



Gov. John Winthrop, brother-in-law of Emanuel Downing
Close Advisor and Friend from 1622 to 1649

"1632 Nov. 19, Dublin. John Pollexfen to (his cousin) Emanuel Downing, Esquire, at the hous of the sign of the Bushel near Fleet Conduit. I have written to my friend Sir W.— — to solicit the obtaining of Sir Christopher Sifthrop's place in the King's Bench who is lately dead. If there should be any need of money, if it exceed not L50, do me the favour to lay it down for me."

Not only did Gov. Winthrop, his Assistants, and John Winthrop, the Younger seek advice and aid from Emanuel Downing, but private parties also, Take note of the following letter;—

"1631/2 Feb. 4. Massachusetts Bay, Richard Saltonstall to Emanuel Downing, Esquire at the Bishops head in Fleet Street near the Conduit, London. Received 10 May 1632. Since my arrival in New England, I have endeavoured to give a true and faithful relation of each thing as come within my observation. The Country abounds with great Creatures needful for sustentation of the life of man. When we have liberty from building and inclosing of grounds for the safety of our cattle from wolves I doubt not but we shall raise good profit, not only by our fishing trade, but by hemp, flax, pitch, tar, potashes, soapashes, masts, staves, clapboards and Iron. Therefor good Sir encourage men to come over. If gentle men of ability would transport themselves, they might advance their own estates, and might improve their talents and times in being worthy instruments of propagating the Gospel to those poor barbarous people. I pray you send over by some of your East County Merchants to get some few Master workmen for the ordering of our portash works."

At this time Emanuel Downing wrote Sir John Coke the first of his informative letters about New England, seeking protection for the Colony, and pleading the mutual advantage to mother country and Bay Colony.

"Being last night at the Exchange I enquired, what ship carpenters Mr. Winthrop, the Governor had with him in New England. Where I was informed by Mr. Aldersey, the lord-keepers brother-in-law and Mr. Cradock, that the Governor has with him one William Stephen a shipwright as able a man as they believe there is hardly such an other to be found in this kingdome, there be 2 or 3 others but for want of their names I could not be satisfied of them. This Stephens, hath built here manie ships of great burthen, he made the Rolay Merchant, a ship of 600 tons, this man as they enformed me had more regard to his substantiall performance, then the wages he was to receive, and soe grew to poverty, whereupon he was preparing to goe for Spayne, where he knew he would have wages answerable to his paynes,

had not some friends perswaded him to N: England, where now he lives with great content; had the State of Spayne obteyned him he should have b'en as a pretious Jewell to them; I was further enformed that the plantation, having warning two yeare, to accomod themselves accordinglie will be able next yeare to build a shipp of any burthen; I have here inclosed sent Yo^r hono^r the copie of the lords order, I pray God assist Yo^r hono^r for the defence and mayntenance of this noble work, and that those lewd and scandalous persons may receive their condyne punishm't and the plantation proued with encouragement, as yt doth obsevee, soe humbly craving pardon for this boldnes dayly praying for Yo^r honors health and happines to God's Glorie and the good of his church, I rest

3^o Juli 1632

Em. Downinge

Addressed to the right hono[']ble Sir John Coke, knt. principal to his Ma^{tie} and cne of his highnes most hono[']ble privy Council, these dr. at Court.

Relations with John Winthrop and John Winthrop, Jr.

From the time of his marriage in 1622, to 1649, Emanuel Downing had not only been a careful guardian of John Winthrop, the Younger at Trinity College, Dublin, Ireland, and helpful to him in later years in England, Ipswich, Mass., and in Connecticut, where John, Jr., was Governor but he and John Winthrop, Sr., were the most intimate friends and spiritual associates, mutually helpful to each other. John Winthrop had held a "Commission of Peace" as early as 1619, but the commission was not then continuous, and we find Emanuel Downing aiding his brother-in-law to obtain a renewal of his commission, as is proved and evidenced by a letter of John's mother (Mrs. Anne (Browne) Winthrop), to her son-in-law Emanuel Downing, probably about 1625 after his return from Dublin, Ireland. She writes, "The matter is I am suspected & accused to be a neanes to make you unwilling & to denye your helpe for my Sonns comming into the Commission againe; indeed for his owne part I was very willing to have him out, but hearing the great want that is of him in the country, and so many good men so desirous to have him in againe, I can not but endeavour my self to further their desires what lies in me; therefor I pray you, good sonne that at my request you would doe so much as to speake a word in the cause, especially when it shall be to the good of many & no hurt to your selfe."

Emanuel Downing was also closely associated in their professional, commercial, and governmental affairs. In truth, it was Emanuel Downing who paved the way for John Winthrop to become an attorney in his "Highnesses'



Courtesy of Methuen Co. Ltd., London, England.

The Court of Wards and Liveries, established by Henry VIII, painted about 1584/5, — Inner Temple, London, England. Both Emanuel Downing and John Winthrop were Attorneys in the Court of Wards etc. Calendar of Inner Temple Records, Vol. II.

Court of Wards and Livery." Emanuel was already a respected lawyer of the Inner Temple, and he became an attorney of this Court of Wards and Livery at the same time as John Winthrop, in 1626.

Although Emanuel Downing was born at the height of the power of Elizabethan England, his life was centered almost wholly in the time of the bitter strife of the Stuart and Commonwealth periods, during the struggle of the Separatists and non-Separatist movement in the Church of England, of the vicious Competition between the Congregational and Presbyterian Churches for the Mastery of Church and State, and the Civil Wars thus engendered.

The decisions of Sir Edward Coke, that great advocate of the Common Law, during the years of young Emanuel Downing's early law practice, had continually challenged the source of the prerogatives of the King and finally it was established that the Sovereign's powers came from the people through its parliament, and not by divine right. The Stuarts were slow to accept this theory.

In March 1628 Emanuel Downing from London writes John Winthrop at Groton, Suffolk; — "The lower house of Parliament haue adjourned the Parliament till Thursday next, but the committee of particular referment meets dayly, they haue made an order that he that shal be wanting one thursday next shall forfeyte 10L."

"They are agreed to giue the King 5 subsidies for present supply, soe our persons and goods be freed, and that there be noe more ceassing of souldiers no pressing of soldiers to serve beyond the seas against their wills. Some other good lawes for religion and the statuts to be putt in execucon against the papists; what the succeſſe hereof wil be, manie men yett are in doubt; the Judges in the King's Bench doe disclaime the judgement, and doe lay all the fault one the Attornie generall."

The King did not countenance any limitation of his powers by the above act of parliament and straight-way dissolved it.

On the 6th of March 1629 Emanuel Downing writes from London to his brother-in-law John Winthrop at Groton, Suffolk, describing that famous and far-reaching historic event, and exciting scene, when on March 2, 1629, the King's messenger appeared at the House of Commons with a message of dissolution;—

"My good brother, — I am glad you returned home soe well, and founde



Courtesy of Methuen Co. Ltd., London, England

Old Hall — Inner Temple, at the time of Emanuel Downing. At a Parliament of the Inner Temple, held on June 28, 1628 special Admissions were granted to Emanuel Downing, one of the Attorneys of the Court of Wards, and — — and John Winthrop also an Attorney of the Court of Wards.

Calendar of the Inner Temple Records, Vol. II, p. 169.

them soe there. The newes yeasterday vpon the exchange was, that the Dutch haue taken the second parte of the Spaynishe plate ffleete.

One Monday morning the Parliament mett, and presently soe soone as they were sett there came a messenger Mr. Maxwell of ye bedchamber, from the King to dissolve the Howse. Mr. Litleton tendered a Demonstrance to the Speaker to be read, he refused, the howse camounded him, he weepes and offers to goe out of the chayre, he was by force kept in, manie cryed out with him to the barr and choose an other in his place, they comaunded the Serieant to lock the dore, ere the Messenger entred, he durst no, vp riseth a Burgesse and offers his service, they all willed him lock the dore and bring away the key, they comaunded the Clarke to reade yt, he answered that he was to reade nothing but was past and entred in the booke, then Mr. Litleton goes into the next roome and burnes the Demonstrance, vp riseth Hollace one of the lord of Clare's sonns, and declares to the howse the somme and heads of ye Demonstrance, to this effect; that all those are enemyes to this Church and Commonwealth that seeks to bring in these new opynions, and that those Merchants shal be reputed enemyes in this state that shall yeald tonnadge and poundadge before yt be graunted in Parliament. And the Conclusion was most sharpe and cruell against the lord Treasurer and the Bishop of Wynchester.

One Tuesday Mr. Selden, Mr. Litleton, and 3 more were sent to the Tower, Sir Peter Heymond and 2 others to the Gatehowse, 8 more sent for; all are close prisoners that are comitted, Mr. Selden's study is sealed vp. This morning I was told that there be 2 barges attending at Whytehall to carry some noblemen to the tower, and that the Custom howse dores are shutt vp, for that the officers dare not sett to demaund Custome. I heard yeasterday at Charing Cross that the Customers of Lynn were beaten out of the Custom howse. The good Lord torne all to a good yssue. Soe with myne and my wives dewty to my mother with our love to your selfe and my good sister &c I rest your verie loving brother.

6 Mar 1628.

Em. Downinge

Downing's Interest in Continental Wars

Protestant England from 1625 to the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, was ever watchful of the struggle for the political and in a lingering and lesser degree for the spiritual power of Europe, in that most important conflict, known as the Thirty Years' War. She followed particularly the actions and military exploits of Albert Wallenstein Duke of Friedland in Bohemia

who with an army absolutely obedient to him and boastfully laughing at the idea of being protestant, catholic or of any nationality, but asserting they were Wallenstein's men alone, was seemingly espousing the Catholic cause, but more accurately his own material interests while marching triumphally through Europe even to the dismay of the Catholic Emperor Ferdinand II, yet later losing prestige by his failure to capture the fort and Baltic port of Stralsund which he had vowed to take, "though it were fastened by chains to heaven," — and Count Johann Tilly the leading general of the Catholic League, who was to intimidate Denmark and ravish Germany, and also Count Ernst Mansfeld, hailed and aided by England and Holland.

On August 31, 1627 Emanuel Downing writes from London to John Winthrop at Groton, Suffolk, informing him of events in the War on the Continent: —

"There is noe newes from the Duke only this that the ffort is neither taken nor releived.

The Earle of Holland is going over to him with 6000 men, whereof 200 out of England, 2000 out of Scotland and 2000 out of Ireland.

Tilly is gotten into the King of Denmark's Country where the King is putt to the worst, and in danger to be over thrown yett is he not pittied here at Court, because (say they) he useth not our men well.

The Spannyard hath sent about 16 ships to the Iland of Shethland where the great herring fishing is, where they landed 500 men and haue taken manie of the ffishers netts and Buffes and done great spoyle to the great hindrance of the ffishing."

In the spring of 1628 John Winthrop, the Younger evidently was planning seriously to accompany John Endicott to New England, and John Winthrop, Sr. at that time had no intentions of going there himself as will appear from his letter to his son on Apr. 7, 1628, "For your journey intended, seeing you have a resolution to go to sea, I know not where you should go with such religious company, and under such hope of blessing; only I am loath you should think of settling there as yet, but to be going and coming awhile and afterward to do as God shall offer occasion. You may adventure somewhat in the plantation at the present, and hereafter more, as God shall give enlargement." — "Put your uncle (Downing) in mind again of my chamber, and tell him, that this day my brother Gostling and another shall go about the business he did write of."

John Winthrop, the younger however postponed his voyage to New England and instead gave about 15 months of his time and energy to travel in Europe going as far as Turkey.

Emanuel aids John Winthrop for New England

During this time John Winthrop, Sr., had lost his post (in June 1629) as an Attorney in the "Court of Wards and Liveries," probably because of his strong Puritanism and for his attitude towards the government. And by July 22 he writes his wife of a possible change of residence.

In all this crisis in the life of John Winthrop, Emanuel Downing gave his active support and council. For we find Emanuel Downing and John Winthrop on July 28, 1629 riding into Lincolnshire to visit Mr. Isaac Johnson, the son-in-law of the Earl of Lincoln.

Lucy (Winthrop) Downing writes on August 8, 1629 to John Winthrop, the Younger, who was in Holland returning from his European Tour, "My sweet Nephew;— I received your letter from Amsterdam, dated July 28; Am moste hartily and unexpressabli glad to hear of your well fare, as I am sure the rest of your friends will be; but so it is that your father and Uncle are both in Linkornshire and have bine this fortnight and I am uncertaine of ther retorne."

John Winthrop informes his wife Margaret on July 28, 1629;— "My Bro. Downing & myselfe riding into Lincolnshire by Ely, my horse fell under me in a bogge in the fennes, so I was allmost to the waiste in water; but the Lorde preserved me from further danger. Blessed be his name."

Downing and Winthrop were on their way to Sempringham to meet with Isaac Johnson. For on July 8, 1629, Isaac Johnson had written Emanuel Downing to come to visit him in Lincolnshire, "It has beene an excellent Tyme for Mr. Winthrope to haue beene this Commencement att Cambridge — Lett me intreat to be remembered to him, when you haue occasion to write to him. So expecting you both heere ere it bee long."

Emanuel Downing was on Aug. 26, 1629 at Cambridge, Eng., when John Winthrop with others signed the "Agreement in which they undertook to emigrate to New England with their families."

Advisor to Governor John Winthrop

From the day of the Cambridge, England meeting until 1649, Emanuel Downing was a stanch supporter and advisor of Gov. John Winthrop. He

became a member of the Massachusetts Bay Company also, and a partner of Gov. Winthrop in this emigration that made New England, and America the particular type of democratic nation it has become.

Nellms, Emanuel's Farm

Besides the law we know that Emanuel Downing was interested in a farm and in merchantizing. His wife Lucy mentions in her letters of Aug. 1626, and of March 1627/8 that her husband was at Nellms. This place has not been identified but it is thought that it may have been a farm in Suffolk, where Emanuel raised cattle and grain. It was probably not a country residence for it does not seem (from Lucy's letters) that she ever lived there. In the 1630s Emanuel Downing sent many cattle to New England; possibly they came from his farm at Nellms. It is known that before he sailed for New England, he disposed of land, and his London house.

Lucy Downing in her March 1626 letter to her brother John Winthrop, much after the fashion of her husband, Emanuel Downing, gave him the current news in London; "The King (Charles I), is gone to Portsmouth, and they say there is moste sumptuous robes gone for his coronation in Scotland; You haue heard ere this I thinke Wheston is treasurer, and Sir Edward Barret, Chancellor of the exchekour, my Lord of Dorcet Chamberlaine to the Queen and my Lork Goeringe vice Cha; and there is a new master of Sincports and another of the hors; — This fleet they saye will not be readye of thre weekes yet."

John Winthrop, the Younger wrote on March 9, 1629 from Venetia, Italy, a mere week after the stirring and climatic scene in the House of Commons to his beloved and ever helpful uncle Emanuel Downing, little realizing, that he would soon be at Amsterdam, Holland, and requesting a letter of credit from his uncle Downing, that same busy uncle who then would be on that eventful trip to Sempringham, Lincolnshire, to confer with Isaac Johnson, Thomas Hooker, John Cotton, and probably Roger Williams, and other dissenting churchmen of Essex, who were interested in the proposal of emigration of the Massachusetts Bay Company, and that Lucy Downing, quick to respond to the need of her favorite nephew, would despatch the money for his return to England, where he would find his father nearly determined on New England, and that he would straightway be negotiating, with the aid of his able and obliging Uncle Downing, for the sale of his ancestral home and Manor at Groton, Suffolk, England.

yours of the 12. and 25. I received and am very
 sorry your busines at London proresses so tedious, you cannot
 hitherto recover a little time, to take the country ayer,
 it is howe sweet, and pleasant; although near us, the way
 are yet but stiffed; and thereby, the worst, for a duble
 hours. and if they wear better, I am prevented, by reason
 my sonne is at present, in treatye for a purchas, that inter-
 mingles much with his Land, and the owner of it, is some-
 what, and trouble some a neighbour, that my sonne is
 much concerned, not to neglect the opportunity, to be quit
 of him, and to prevent another, and upon this occasion,
 the weeklie intercour to holland, and expedienties here,
 will not permit my absence, for a weekes time, without un-
 kindnes, my sonne beinge at the distance he is; and all his
 letters, and directions, come open to me, to dispose of, or els
 what you mention, of your expectation to be gone the
 next monthe, would provoke me, to dispence with the
 wayes, and all els, to waye upon you, but I hope the ex-
 pectation of yours; or some expedient, will be propitious
 for our meetinge before your return. or els it would
 coole my vitalls with the apprehension.

Sir I not expecting the ships would goe for newe england
 this monthe at soonest did omit returne to my sonne nor
 till now, and it beinge of concern too him, I desire,
 you will be pleas'd, to send it by a hand of confide, at
 your first opportunity, and I pray present my servis
 to my deere your wife, and to all yours, with you, an-
 ellsthear, and my servis to my nephew cleas
 winthrop and his wife when you write, and to Mr
 amos richardson. the letter you sent was a kinde letter
 from him. but he mentions nothinge of hopes to
 make my bargain. I pray when you see Mr. John
 Norton, present my humble servis too him, and to
 all our friends at severafar, so praying your good
 health and our happy meetinge, sir I am,
 your poor and servant

Lucy downing

apr 20. 1602
east hattle

Letter in Lucy (Winthrop) Downing's Handwriting

From Winthrop Papers — Courtesy of Massachusetts Historical Society

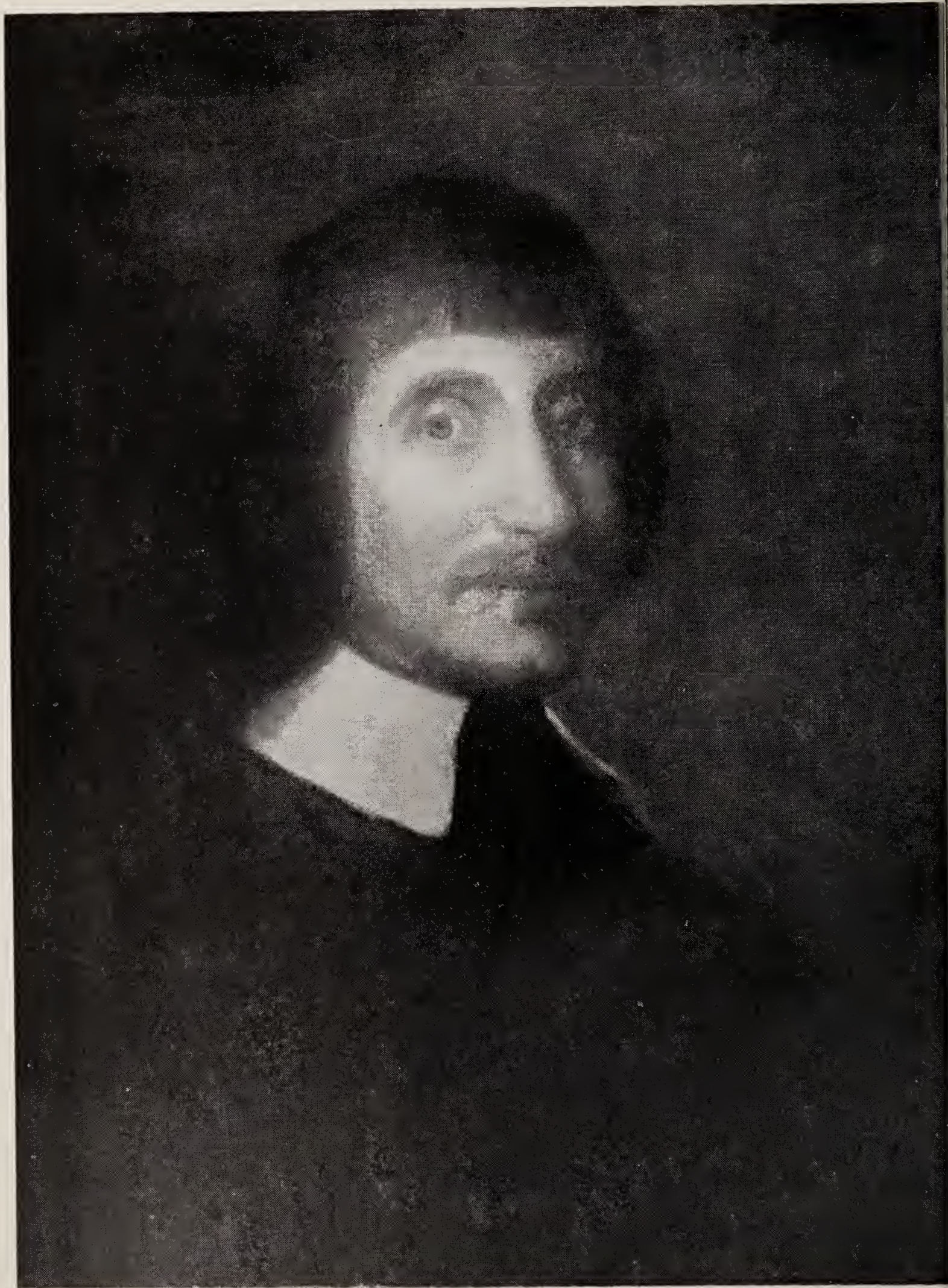
Because of the interesting data, the letter is given in full;—

“To the Wop^{ll} Emanuel Downing. Martil 9, 1629. de Venetia,

“Worthy S^r, — May you please to understand that I am now arrived in Venice: the day of o^r arrivall was the last of Jan^r, having been from Constantinople about 6 weekes. I should haue wrote to you long since, but coming from a place where the plague was very great, we could not be admitted to come into this citty, till we had spent all february as prisoners in their Lazaretto (a place a great way distant from the Citty appointed to such purposes) till it was apparent that we were cleere from all infection; so not knowing any by whom I might have my letters conveid, I could not write till my coming into the Citty. My charges ther were excessive; I find them little lesse since my coming into the Citty, so that I shall have skarce to bear my charges hence, but may have credite heer for more when I want; It may be thought I am a very ill husband, but none can beleeeve the charges in these Countries but he that hath exp^d them. The exchange also maketh them the deeper, paying neere 6 for 4 & would be more if I should take up any heere. This maketh me desirous to hasten into England; by sea I find no occasion, by land I might have a good oportunity wth the Lady Wake, w^{ch} I heare would be very chargeable. I deffer to resolve till I have receyved letters from Legorne wth I heare are theare for me, w^{ch} I gladly expect dayly, hoping to heare from you & my other good freinds of your welfares, w^{ch} since my departure from England I have had noe notice of. Heare is little news of Importance, saving of the French King’s coming into Italy, w^{ch} is thought heare cannot but bring forth some notable effect; he hath allready made peace between Mantoa & Savoi, and it is thought entendeth to goe ag^t Genoa. Thus wth the remembrance of my duty & love to your selfe & my aunt, wth my salutations to cozens and freinds, I comend you to Gods protection & rest.

“Your loving Cosen to command “John Winthrop.”

From Amsterdam, on July 28, 1629 John Jr., writes his father John Winthrop, Sr., “I am heere, without acquaintance & our long passage hath eaten out all the money that I receyve at Venice, whereof by the foresaid letters you have understood, if they came to your hands; therefore I pray you to send me a letter of credit from some merchant to some man in Flushing, or Middleborough, which because I thinke you may be in the Country, & so cannot so readily doe, I have written to my Uncle Downing to desire him to doe it; because the longer I stay heere the more I shall runn in debt. Therefore I would, as soone as I can receive answeare from you or



John Winthrop, Jr., nephew of Emanuel Downing
Associated in Business Projects, 1630 to 1656
Portrait, by courtesy of Ipswich, Mass. Historical Society

my uncle, returne with all speede home. I have not since my departure out of England heard from you neyther by letter nor otherwise, therefore I long much to heare of your welfare, & of the rest of my good freinds."

Emanuel Downing and sale of Groton Manor

After Governor John Winthrop had left for New England in 1630, Emanuel Downing and John Winthrop, the Younger were at work on the sale of Groton Manor, Suffolk, Eng., the Manor that once belonged to the old Monastery of Bury St. Edmunds, and that was bought by his great-grand father Adam Winthrop from Henry VIII in 1544 for 408L, 18s, 3d.

Concerning the sale of Groton Manor, Emanuel Downing sends the following letter to John Winthrop, Jr.;

To his loving Cosen Mr. John Wynthroy at Groton in Suffolke. Good Cosen, — I haue agreed with Dr. Wright for 4600L for the sale of Groton as per this enclosed, you may perceiue; for 850L of this purchase, Dr. Wright is to assigne over a manour worth 50L per annum, which lyeth nere Harwich in Essex. I pray send to see yt for yf yt shall not be thought fitt for my sister, then hee will at a reasonable day pay the monie.

I expected this week the writings concerning Groton but sent only the last Conveyance and the parsons lease, I pray bring vp with you all the writings, concerning that purchase except your Court Roules which may be delivered in the Countrey; among your writings be sure that you fynd out the Graunt from the King, next the Conveyance from Adam W.; to John W. then the Dedes from John W. to your father and my brother Fones and what other Deedes you haue concerning your woods, for this deede you sent me vp mentioneth but 40 acres of wood, soe yts supposed that the rest of the woods were bought of some private men and not from the King.

You will be expected here on wednesday of thursday next at furthest, and as you come leave all your writings with my Cosen Cary Mildmay at Marks for Mr. Wright of Romford is to draw the Conveyance, which wee hope to finishe next weeke and to receiue the monie; bring vp with you this enclosed noate.

If you shall mislike this agreement with Dr. Wright, you shall be at libertye to sell yt to any other that will give you more for yt, noe man here hath offred soe much by 200L, if you resolve to proceed herein, I pray

come speedily vp for I shall doe nothing without you therein, this busines only keepes me in towne.

As you come bring me Mr. Tyndall's letter for approbation hereof, otherwise yt wilbe further delayed, here is noe news yet from New England, soe with my wives and my trew love to your mother your selfe &c I rest your loving uncle.

Em. Downinge

However the sale of Groton was delayed, and we find Emanuel Downing writing for necessary papers; — To his verie loving brother John Winthrop Esqr, Governour of the Plantacon, in Mattachusetts, New England.

"herein is sent you a dedimus potestatem to acknowledge an other ffyne of Groton, and a deed to leade the vse thereof, because the ffyne you acknowledged before you went hence was not well drawne nor sufficient for vs to sell your land,"

After this delay Groton Manor, through the efforts of Emanuel Downing and John Winthrop, was finally sold for L4200.

Import and Export Business

During the long eight years' delay in emigrating to New England, Emanuel Downing had set over his three children by his first wife Ann Ware, (the daughter of Sir James Ware) namely James Downing on the Arbella with Gov. John Winthrop in 1630, and Mary and Susan Downing with Gov. William Coddington in 1633 on the ship "Mary and Jane," and also with his brother-in-law Francis Kirby (husband of Susanna Downing), a London merchant, had from 1630 to 1637 conducted an import-export business with members of and merchants of the Massachusetts Bay, and Connecticut Colonies in New England.

In order to indicate the prices, quality, variety, and quantity of goods sent at this period to New England by the Downing-Export business, I shall quote from a few of the 17 letters that can be found in the Massachusetts Historical Society Collection.

Francis Kirby to John Winthrop, Jr., writes on 26 Dec. 1631;—

"At the motion of my brother Downinge I willingly condesended (If not boldly intruded myself) to be a third partner with him and you in this

parcell of goods, which is such wares as your father gave a deal for and I have endeavoured to get goods as good cheap as I could. The Cloth was provided by my brother Downeinge and Mr. Smith the tayler — you shall find in one of the fats a book sent by my brother Downeinge to his son for his diversion to keep a merchants booke and therein also some letters you shall find.” He also mentions 2 cases and 13 hodheads H.e wishes to be remembered to James Downing and others. On Nov. 27, 1632 “he shipped as per brother Downinge 5 pieces of goods, that is to say 2 hodsheads and 1 barrell with goods of your father.” On Feb. 26, 1633 to John Winthrop, Jr., at Agawan (now Ipswich, Mass), the following wares.

3 mxt Rugs at 10s 8d p Rug	1-10-0
4 mxt Rugs 8s 8d	1-06-0
3 mxt Rugs 10s	2-02-0
3 Red Rugs 12s 3d	1-18-0
2 Red Rugs 4s 6d	1-03-0
2 Red Rugs 10s 6d	1-01-0
3 Red Rugs 7s 6d	1-17-0
—	—
20	10-17-6
1 paire blankets at 11s p paire	11-0
3 paire blankets 12s	1-16-0
1 paire blankets 10s	10-0
1 paire blankets 13s	13-0
—	—
6	3-10-0

15 yards $\frac{1}{4}$ broadcloth for blankets 3sh pr yd. 2-08-2
Coats, lines of blew thrid, Buttons, etc.”

On March 26, 1633 Francis Kirby sent the following letter to John Winthrop, Jr. “I have sent you in this ship (wherein my Cosens Mary Downeinge and Susan and Mr. Coddington are) all the things you wrote for, except old musket barels and sope ashes — The particulars you shall find on the other page, they are packed with other goods which I bought for your father at my brother Downeinge’s imstance, in one long chist and one little barrell, also thers directed to your father 2 tronkes and a little trusse which my Cosen Mary Downeinge knoweth how to dispose of.

List of Goods

Sand iver 2 li and Soda 8 li	0- 5-6
Stone blewings 14 li	0-10-0
Brimstone 1 li weight	1- 3-4
Copper $\frac{1}{4}$ c	1- 8-0
Tin $\frac{1}{4}$ c	0- 0-9
Canarie seeds 3 pints	
	<hr/>
	4-17-1

You shall receive in this same chist 58 yon palter — 2 dozen — 20 li white Coperas — 6 shorlinge sheep skins 30 lamb skins 1 dozen sithes, 1 hachell for hemp, with 2 other little tooles of iron used about the streighten up of the teeth — 1 hachell for flaxe with two brushes, 6 felling axes 20 sutes of canvas, 20 sutes of Cotton, 10 dezen Irish stockings.”

At an earlier date on 22 June 1632, Francis Kirby from London to John Winthrop Jr. states that, “You shall receive per this Ship 2 fats marked — which is goods jontable between yourselfe my brother Downeinge & myselfe. They contain 400 payer of shoes, 16 pieces clothe, with some other things of which I have written you at large per Mr. Peirce.”

The shoes mentioned in the above letter turned out to be “Calves lether” rather than “Neate leyher” which lead to considerable long correspondance between John Winthrop, Jr., and Francis Kirby, with explanations and adjustment made by the seller to Kirby.

On April 11, 1634 Kirby writes further to John Winthrop, Jr., “I haue disbursed for thes goods with the freight and other charges 41 li, 4s, 3d. If I mistake not you shall find every particular mentioned in my letter per Mr. Graves; also every severall rug and paire of blankets hath his price written upon yt. The 24 coates Cost you about 15sh, 7d per coat, besides the charge upon them. I and my wife, my brother and sister Hill desire to be remembered to your second selfe, your father and mother, my Cosen James Mary and Susan Downinge —.”

Francis Kirby

Besides the above exporting and business transactions, Emanuel Downing himself, although very busy with his law practice, sent equipment to John Winthrop, Jr. In fact Downing showed a general interest in all the business activities of the colony for its own sake as well as for his own material

advancement. On Nov. 21, 1632 he writes John Winthrop, Jr. "Concerning myne owne particular account with my brother Winthrop, I must needs referre it to my next writinge, for I haue bin all this sommer in the contrie, and came home but just to the Terme, and did not dreame of this sodaine going of this shipp, but made account to haue had tyme to consider thereof after this terme. But concerninge my brother Winth; monies received by me, I haue here inclosed, sent you the true accompt, of the last 700 li paid by Mr. Warren, I directed my brother Kirby to receive 500 li, because of his better leisur then myne, for the paying out of the same, accordinge to your occasions, which you may perceiue by the accompt, for a good parte of it is made by him, the rest is laid out by my selfe. — I send my brother Winthr; a staffe with a rapier in it, and a pistoll you left behind, by Mr. Winslowe. — The cloth you desire from him (Mr. Gostlyn) will not be sent vntill the springe, neither could it be made ready against this shippes going, for we had scarce a weeks warninge of it."

And again on 13 August 1633 Em. Downing to John Winthrop, Jr.;

"I haue written thrice to you since I had any passage thence, except those drowned letters which came per Mr. Pierse. By this shipp I sent your father ouer a furnace for brewinge or boylinge salt or sope &c. Since the shipping thereof I haue caused another to be made which Sir R. Saltonstall, hath bought on me, for the price I paid the workeman, but he should not haue had the same, had he not promised to send it to the plantation; which accordingly he hath done. Nowe had I knowne the shipp would haue stayed soe longe at Graues end I would haue assigned this to you and let him had the other. I haue promised Sir R. you shall direct his man howe you shall vse it, which he needed not haue requested from me, for that I knowe you would most redily haue yeilded thereunto of your selfe. I shall desire much to heare that you doe hitt right in the vse of it. I haue seene the tryall of it here both with seacoale & charcoales, therefore I doubt not but you will vpon the true practise of it.

Our frinds at Groton and Chensey are all well; our Bishop of London (William Laud) is made Bishop of Canterbury; it is not yet knowne who shall be of London.

What course you will take for your 200L due vnto you from my brother Painter, though I heare some tymes him, yet I heare not a worde of any such monie to be due vnto you. Tis longe since we heard from you. Soe

desiring good news thence with my daylie prayers for you & yours with my loue to yourselfe & your good wife I take leaue and rest. Your louinge vncle,
Em. Downinge.

Emanuel's Help to Bay Colony

In the year 1633/4 even up to 1636, John Winthrop and his Assistants became more and more worried concerning the attitude of the English Government towards the Massachusetts Bay Charter and Government, and possible interference with its activities. So it was decided to enlist the help of Emanuel Downing, the brother-in-law of Gov. Winthrop, to seek a friendly attitude from the Privy Council, and counter the designs of Sir Ferinando Gorges.

In this matter Emanuel Downing gave important service to the Colony, a service that was in the nature of the activities of an unofficial ambassador, the results of which were of greatest consequence to the future development of democratic government, not only in Massachusetts, but in America. For this service alone Emanuel Downing should be better known and appreciated.

Emanuel Downing had been an able lawyer in London with many influential and parliamentary clients, and he was on friendly and intimate terms with such men as Lord Thomas Covently, Keeper of the Great Seal, Sir Robert Naunton, former Secretary of State, and then Master of the Court of Wards and Liveries, and Sir John Coke, Secretary of State. It was particularly by letters to, and through the instrumentality of Sir John Coke that Emanuel Downing was able to aid the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and to protect its charter. With great and strict devotion to the interests of the Massachusetts Bay Colony he wrote Sir John Coke, giving evidence against the unmarrented and malicious attacks of Gorges and his co-partners, and especially against the statement that the Colony might be disloyal to the mother country. The letter to Sir John follows;—

Right Ho'ble,— Yts well knowne to Yo'r honn'r how S'r Ferd. Gorge, wth some others his coptners, have these manie yeares past labored to make a plantation in N; Engl., where havine spent their monie and travell in vayne, being ashamed of their owne and envying their neighbo^{rs} psperity, have of late made clayme to the verie ground where Mr. Winthrop wtha Colonie late built and planted, and would have had them all to be his tenants. Whereof fayling, he is enraged and stirrs up all the fowle and scandalous complaynts he can devise againts the plantacon, laboring either to overthrow their patent whereby they are made Corparacon, or at least to have other Governm^{ts}

establishes for the better regulating (as he p'tends) of them. Yo' hono' sees how this plantacon (being pmitted to pceed in yts owne way wthout rub or lett) doth prosper and com to pfeccon beyond all expectations, yea, contrarie to the judgem^t of historians who conclude a plantacon cannot be pformed by pivate psons wthout the State. Now if this plantacon shall be putt out of yts owne way, I much feare yt will fare wthyt as yt did wththe herring fishing and staple of Engl., for under p'tence of establishing good governm^t for the better regulating of those pricelesse and rich trades, such orders and lawes were made as were the cause of the wholl loose of the one and of letting strangers reape pte of the proffitt of the other.

This plantacon and that Virgenia went not forth upon the same reasons nor for the same end. Those of Virgenia went only for proffitt: having noe disturbance therein they enjoyed all they desired, but if that had be'n taken from them they would soon have broken, some retorning home, others dispsing elsewhere. These went upon 2 other designes: some to satisfie their owne curiosity in poynt of conscience, others (w^{ch} was more gen'all) to transport the Gospell to those heathen that never heard thereof; to this most of the Cheife amongst them were encouraged upon this ground that the fulnes of the Gentiles might come before the Jewes shal be recalled. To beginn, this good worke these have ventured farr in respect to their estates and hasard of their lives, and there yet submit to manie dangers, both of their lives and goods, as well from the native as foreign enemyes.

Ob; The only considerable objection ag^t this plantacon is that in tyme they will revolt from their alleadgeance & joyne in trade wth strangers, and soe deprive this land of those staple comodities w^{ch} that country may afford us.

Ans: Please the State to encouradge them as hetherto yt hath done, that feare shall easily be removed, for as they doe, soe must they still depend upon this kingdome: — first, for that the wholl trade of the plantacon is mayntayned by such undertakers as are in old Engl., having no purpose to transplant themselves thither; 2. those they govern the wholl plantacon have both land and children here; 3. divers others are in rev'sion and soe in hope of lands here for themselves or their children (w^{ch} are good bonds for their alleadgeance), these though not the most in number yet in some authority and such as doe sway and rule the multitude; 4. whereas their patent byndes them to yeald to his Ma^{tie} the 5th pte only of the Oare, the undertakers here will pswade the planters to accept a new patent and thereby be bound

to transport noe masts &c. for cordadge and shipping but into old Engl., and for further assurance to pcure a law ther for this purpose.

One thing wilbe humbly desired from his Ma^{tie} in this patent, that he wilbe pleased to covenant to ayde and assist them, if need require, ag^t all foreigne enemies, and that the patent be enlarged a litle to the North, where are the best ffirs and tymber for shipping, and alsoe thereby p'vent usurpation and intrusion of pjuditiall neighbours.

But yt may be objected they will in tyme encrease to a great number and then shake off the State and Countrye. Ans: The more the plantacon encreaseth, the more assurance there wilbe of fast binding to this State ptly as aforesaid by the estates in possion or rev'sion w^{ch} the better sorte who shall rule the multitude must leave behind them, and ptly by the encrease of the number of undertakers, w^{ch} comonly be of the nearest and dearest friends of the planters.

Its a supposicon and causeles feare wthout psident that a Colony planted in a strange land were ever soe foolishly besotted as to reject the ptecon of their naturall Prince (though homebread rebellions in nations have be'n so frequent) How close did the Roman Colony placed here adhere to the Empire, yea, till yt broke all in peices, and then the Colony was constrayned to seeke for ptecon elsewhere. To come nearer home and to these tymes, the Dutch having manie colonies abroad, some in the East and West Indyas and some in other places where they enjoy better cuntryes than at home, yet are wthout feare of loosing any one, unless by surprise of an enemye. Soe the Portingalls had manie Colonies abroad at that verie tyme when their kingdome was translated to Spayne, yet none revolted, neither hath the State of Spayne to this day lost any one but what the Dutch or other enemyes have conquered. And shall any suspect that in this Colony, that never since the Creation happened in any? I have marveyled to see the manie 100 Ires that come wrom N: Engl: evrie passadge, some to parents, others to masters, some to p'tners, others to freinds, and most for supply in one thing or other. Againe, yts worthy observation the great joy that is in the plantacon when they see a shipp goeing in to them from home. Againe yts most certeynee that yts not an easy thing to force or compell a Colony planted in a strange land to forsake their alleadgeance & ptecon of their naturall Prince, or to leave their commerce wth their freinds and allyes in their native country (whom they may safely trust) to rest upon strangers for ptecon and comerce, in whom they can put noe confidence. Surely they would be counted a foolish and madd people that would wthout constraynt take their stocks out of their freinds

and kinsmens hands, to venture & hasard the same in mens hands in whom they have had no experience.

To conclude, this State is as sure of firme alleadgeance from this Colony or Corporacon in N:E: as of any Corporacon here wthin this land, and lett them but enjoye the lib'tye of their patent, and to choose their owne officers as ev'rie Corporacon doth here, then shall this kingdome clearly gayne, by the fruits of their labo^{rs}, that comodious trade of cordage, pitch and tarr and that wthout monie, yea, for nothing, for were these people at home they must be fedd and cloathed here, & for their apparrell and some few other necessaries w^{ch} they must have spent if they had be'n at home wee shall gayne that trade unto us. I could give yo^r hono^r more full satisfaccon herein but that I dare not trench any further on yo^r patience, soe abruptly breaking off I crave pdon for this boldnes and rest.

Yo^r hono^r faythfull Servane, Em. Downinge

Nelms, 12 10^{br} 1633.

Since my returne from Nelms I understand of ill newes from N:E. by lres and passengers come from thence, that the Dutch have intruded upon the principall and best river in N.E., w^{ch} runneth along the back of this plantacon.

This clever and well timed post-script, emphasizing with a punch the urgent need of the Colony of protection by the mother country, from its enemies, (in this case the Dutch), gives ample evidence where Emanuel's son, Sir George Downing got his abilities to out-wit (as the English Resident in Holland), the Dutch officials, as well as from his great-grand father Adam Winthrop, who was not only a clever but shrewd business man. It would seem that Sir George Downing had inherited a double portion of those special qualities, necessary for a successful negotiator.

About a year after the above letter Emanuel Downing wrote another reporting the new and important New England lumber industry, and the first shipment of masts to England. He again made use of the post-script in a masterly and brief diplomatic stroke, by mentioning the extraordinary high price received for the sale of the masts.

"To the right ho'ble S^r John Coke, Kn^t. principall Secretarie to his Ma^{tie} and one of his highnes hoble privy Councill at Court, dd."

Right Ho'ble, — I have not heard from Mr. Meredith about Burks land since yo^r hono^r left the towne, w^{ch} makes me jealous of the pceedings therein,

but my hope is yo^r hono^r will, or have taken a course for the passing Mr. Reades graunt w^{ch} will remove all doubts. There is a shipp retorned into the west country from New England w^{ch} tooke in masts for hir freight homeward. This is the first ship that cam freighted with masts into these pts from thence. And now this trade being by us discovered I fear the Dutch, as they have done in other trades, will use theire witts and endeavor to appropriate yt unto themselves, but if yt prease God the plantacon shall henceforward psptously p^{ce}cede as heatherto yt hath done. I doubt not but the Englishe will make good that trade against Dutch and Ffrench, and likewise gayne the country to his Ma^{tie}. The Governo^r this spring sent some Englishe to plant upon the river of Connecticott, whither the Dutch last yeare encroached, soe the Englishe lye on the one side and the Dutch on the other of the river. This is a great river lying almost in the midst betwene Hudson river, where the Dutch first planted, and our plantacon. The Dutch now wilbe confined to theire boundes unles they meane to fight for more and then I doubt not his Ma^{tie} wilbe as able and ready to maynteyne his Colonie as the Dutch theirs.

I made bold to write for that I am goeing wth his hono^r the M^r of the Wards into Suffolke, his native soyle, in hope that will conduce to his gayning of strength, who, I thank God, is rather mending than payning. His leggs are yet weake, but he can now sett at table to his meate and in his chayre to dispatch busines, and to looke on his face and discourse with him you would scarce beleive he were sicke. Soe hartyllye praying for yo^r hono^r long life here and eternall happines hereafter, I himbly take leave and rest.

Yo^r hono^r fayfull servant, Em. Downinge

London 23 August 1634.

I hear the masts were sold so soone as they were landed, at an extraordinarie great price."

Emanuel Downing rendered both the Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay a minor but signal service, when he again on Sept. 15, 1634 wrote to Sir John Coke in an effort to cause the release of Mr. Edward Winslow from prison.

Mr. Winslow (a Pilgrim-dissenter) had been sent to England to defend the Massachusetts and Plymouth Colonies against the malicious reports of Thomas Morton, and had been seized and held in prison without legal cause or trial (on the order of Archbishop William Laud).

In this letter, Downing was careful to mention the friendship of the Lond-

Keeper Thomas Coventry for Kenelm Winslow (a country neighbor), Edward's father, and also of his sympathy for Laud's prisoner.

Right Ho'ble, — Mr. Wynsloe being my Lord Keepers countryman (both Lord Coventry and Kenelm Winslow were of Worcestershire), whose father alsoe his Lop loved verie well, doth now much pittie his cause, and expressing soe much last night to his Ladye, shee sent last night to Mr. Wynsloe to give him notice of hir husbands affection to him and willed him to peticon his Lop. for the furtherance of his freedom out of prison, the w^{ch} he hath done. I thought yt my duty to acquaynt you herewth because I would have nothing agitated herein unknowne to yo^r hono^r. But that the peticon was delivered before I spake wth Mr. Wynsloe, I had stayed yt, and soe would be himselfe as now resolved wholly to relye upon yo^r hono^{rs} favo^r and direcon for his owne and publique good of the plantacon in all things hencefoward. Soe I humbly take leave and rest.

Yo^r hono^{rr} to doe you service whilst I am, Em. Downinge
19, 10^{br}, 1634.

Edward Winslow was released from prison, and some six years later in a postscript to a letter to John Winthrop (July 27, 1640) expressed his appreciation of Emanuel Downing's and Sir John Coke's assistance in gaining his freedom. Winslow wrote, "I thank you for your English news. I received a letter from Mr. Shirley this yeare; — He writes me of the Lord Keepers death (Thomas, Lord Coventry died Jan. 13, 1640), & that Secretarie Cooke (Sir John Coke, Secretary of State) hath letters of ease, which is to me very sad, for New England in those two is stripped at once of our best friends at the Board; so now we must live by ffaith without any dependence on meanes at all. Mr. Downing to whom I desire to be remembered with all thankfulness can better informe you about it then my selfe."

In the year 1633 Emanuel Downing rendered the Massachusetts Bay Colony a practical although minor service. Governor John Winthrop on Oct. 11, 1633 enters in his Journal, "The wolves continued to do much hurt among our Cattle; and this month by Mr. Grant there came over four Irish grey-hounds which were sent to the Governor by Mr. Downing his brother-in-law."

Mr. Edward Howes, a clerk of Emanuel Downing, in a letter to John Winthrop, the Younger, from Peterborough Courte in Fleete streete, the 13 August 1633, interestingly mentions the dogs, and also gave a little insight into the proselyting methods of the Puritans; "You shall also receive in this

shippe 3 wolfe doggs & a bitch, with an Irish boye to tend them; for the doggs my Master (Mr. Downing) hath writt sufficiently, but for the boye thus much; You have bin in Ireland, knowe partlie the Irish condition; this is a verie tractable fellowe, and yet of a hardie and stout corage; I am perswaded he is very honest, especially he makes great conscience of his promise and vowe; I could wish (for as much as I have seene by him) you would take him to be your servant, although he be bound to your father for five yeares. At his first comminge ouer he would not goe to church, nor come to prayers but first we gatt him up to prayers & then on the Lord's day to catachise, and afterwards very willingly he hath bin at church 4 or 5 tymes. He as yet makes conscience of fridayer fast from flesh; and doth not loue to heare the Romish religion spoken against, but I hope with God's grace he will become a good Convert."

In the very midst of the trouble over the Charter during the years 1633 to 1638, and at the time that Matthew Craddock was about to sail for America to demand the return of the patent there were three very disturbing incidents in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, 1st. the trial and banishment of Rev. Roger Williams, 2nd. the controversy over, and banishment of Mrs. Anna Hutchinson, (these acts of intolerance did not cease soon for in 1651 Rev. Obadiah Holmes, educated at Oxford University, England, and later became the 2nd Pastor of the 1st Baptist Church at Newport, R. I.) was publicly whipped, near the Old State House, Boston, Mass., with 30 strokes from a three cord whip, because he preached in a private home in Salem, Mass, and because he denied the right of the "Civil Power to thrust its hands or the mace between man and his Maker." After the whipping Holmes spoke these words to the Magistrates as witnesses, "You have struck me as with Roses"), 3rd. the Endecott Incident; The strict Puritans at Salem, Mass., strove to remove every sign of Romish type of religion, and to impress on the settlers what seemed to the ruling party the only true faith, and Gov. Endicott was foremost among them, to put any Roman symbol or even any suggestion of popery from the eyes of the people.

The red cross of St. George in the British emblem, Gov. Endicott thought was given to the King of England by the pope as a emblem of Victory, and thus a superstitious thing of the Anti-Christ, and refused to recognize its authority. Since St. George was the patron saint of England in Catholic days he may be partially right but in Gov. Endicott's day the union of the Cross of St. George and the Cross of St. Andrew simply indicated the union of England and Scotland, and was so proclaimed by King James I early

in his reign. Nevertheless Gov. Endicott declaring the symbol in the British emblem idolatrous, grandly marched down the streets of Salem, Mass. and with sword in hand cut the red cross of St. George from the English emblem. This was a rash act which not only was an affront to the civil authorities as they declared it "very great, rash and without discretion," beyond "the lymitts of his calling," but also they feared might be considered treasonable rather than an act prompted by religious conviction by the governing body in England, and that his act might worsen the already strained relations with the Crown. The situation was even more complicated by the fact that many of the people, and some of the Magistrates deemed Endicott justified. However Endicott was hailed before the Governor and Assistants, censured and deprived him of holding public office for a year. The authorities were much troubled and feared the very future of the Colony, perhaps its existence was at stake.

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The ministers also were divided on the question whether it was lawful or not to carry the banner with the Cross. Then as usual it was decided to write to Mr. Downing in England the truth of the matter, as warily as possible under the hands of all of the assistants, so if occasion required, it might show as an excuse because then they could express disapproval of the the occurance and purpose to punish the offence.

In truth they really asked Emanuel Downing to use his influence with his friends in the Government to smooth the way and to explain to them favorably the condition of the Bay Colony. That Mr. Downing was successful in his efforts there can be no doubt, and particularly calming must have been these words in Downing's letter of 6 March 1636, "I heartilye thank you for your lardge information of the state of the plantation; I was the other day with Secretarie Coke who told me that there hath not ben a word of your plantacon in Councill board these manie moneths past." And again even more satisfaction in the mind of the Governor when he received Emanuel Downing's letter of 21 Ober 1637 stating, "Here hath been great joy for your great victories but, farr more for vanquishing your erronious opinions then for conquisting the Pequots." Our best and worthyest men" (probably meaning his Puritan friends among the ministers, and members of Parliament), doe much mervile you did not banish Whee(l)wright and Hutchin-sons wife, but suffer them to sowe more sedition among you." The items of news and the words of Emanuel Downing surely were as reassuring to the troubled Magistrates as the tinkling of the Town Crier's bell as he called, "Tis Midnight and all is well."

Emanuel Downing's Venture with John Winthrop Jr.

Emanuel Downing ventured in some of the business undertakings of John Winthrop, the Younger, such as iron refining, salt works, the extraction of vegetable indigo etc., but on Feb. 20, 1633, Francis Kirby writes to John Winthrop, Jr., concerning a fishing business that apparently Emanuel Downing did not enter; — "For your trade of fishing which you say is hopefull, I should be glad to further so good a thing if you shall see a manifest way of doing profit thereby and my brother Downing by his letter shall give you to understand his willingness to adventure therein, then you shall presume that I will adventure halfe so much as my brother so that my halfe may not exceed forty or fifty pounds." He reports later on April 11, 1634, "I do not presume my brother Downing to be foward to join you in the fishing trade. I have entreated him to write you a resolved answer, which I have not from him yet, and as I wrote you before, my resolution depends upon him without him nothing therein."

Preparing for New England

As early as the time of the Meeting of the Massachusetts Bay Company at Cambridge, England in 1629, when documents were signed by John Winthrop and others, and Winthrop was elected Governor, Emanuel Downing had joined and had invested money in the Company, and had every intention of early emigrating to New England. But he delayed because of apprehensions of his wife Lucy Winthrop Downing. It is evident that Emanuel was much much more aware of the government's attitude and the accumulating serious situation facing the Puritan Cause than did Lucy Downing. So for eight years he struggled on with his private law practice, securing legal land grants for his clients, work as an attorney in the Court of Wards and Liveries, and at the same time planning, and adjusting his properties in anticipation of departure for America.

On 8 Oct. 1630 Emanuel Downing writes to Gov. John Winthrop, his brother-in-law, "I know not how to expresse my thankfulnes suffitiently for the constant continewance of your love to me euerie way soe plentifully expressed, among the rest, for your care in providing my howse, I shall desire to hasten over soe soone as the Lord shall open me the way, which I hope shalbe ere long."

Then Emanuel suggests the relocation of the Colony, stating that this is his and the opinion of many of our English friends: — "Our freinds here, yea those of best judgement, wishe you bestowe not much cost in build-

ing where you are, but doe advise that you doe speedily send about the discoverie of some fitter place, fare to the South, where you may enjoye greater comfore in respect of milder winters and fruitfuller and earlier harvests, with more safety from foreign invasions; yts certeynly enformed here that soe litle Southward as the Narraganses, there is farr lesse cold and snow then where you are, byt if yt be trew that Mr. Allerton reports of Hudson's river, there is noe place comparable to yt for a plantacon, and t'will quitt cost for you to remove thither, though all be lost in the place where you are, for he sayth that Hudsons river goes into Canada and those 2 make New England a Iland, if this be trew yts like they meet in the great lake, and soe may Merrymack; I feare the want of provisions haue hindred your discoveries, this years, but I hope you shall haue noe such impediment thereafter."

We haue peace with Spayne as per the proclamation you shall perceive, which wilbe some advantadge to your plantacon, for you may hencefoward haue wheat for 2s the bushell and all sorts of Cattle (cheaper then I wrote that Capten Powell would afoard them) from the Terceras Ilands whence I trust you shall receive some verie shortly whereof I meane, God willing to write at lardge in my next letter."

Emanuel Downing's letter of April 30, 1631, adressed to his verie loving brother, John Winthrop, Governour of the plantation in the Massachusetts Bay, speaks of Mr. Johnson's death, but praises Governour Winthrop for maintaining the Colony through the winter, and of his hope of emigrating.

"Your last letters — haue much refreshed my hart and the myndes of manie others, welwishers to the good worke you haue vndertaken, for much more was feared, then the good Lord through his mercy hath laid vpon you, in that soe few haue dyed, and now there is hope you wilbe able to subsist and proceede to lay the foundacon of a plantacon, whereas yt was the judgement of most men here that your Colonye would this winter be dissolved, partly by death through want ffood, howsing and rayment, and the rest to retorne or to flee for refuge to other plantacon;s but blessed be God that hath maynteyned his owne cause and preserved you alive to helpe further foward this great worke.

I am glad that you haue begunn to remove and plant some what higher vp the river into the land among the woods, I meane at Watertowne. It is my dayly prayer that the Lord will give me leave to goe vnto you, which I hope wilbe next Spring, Vbi, Animus, ibi homo. You haue my hart, and I doe mynd nothing for this world more then to prepare for my goeing vnto

you, and when I shall see the Lords Providence opening my way, I shall make litle stay here."

Emanuel Downing had sent Cattle to New England and they were under the care of Mr. Dillingham, for one third of the increase. So he continues the letter, "I must be trouble some to you about my cattle and corne — I pray excuse me that I write noe newes herein, for I haue not tyme but this rest assured of that you may be secure from any trouble from Spayne or France, for they haue their hands full here."

Emanuel Downing continued, after John Winthrop, the Younger settled in New England, to manage some of his property affairs in England. In a letter dated 2^{do} 9^{be} 1632 Downing speaks of paying quarteridge payment due "Awnt Branch." This aunt Branch was Elizabeth Risby who married John Winthrop the uncle of Lucy (Winthrop) Downing and Gov. John Winthrop. This John Winthrop was originally the heir and owner of Groton Manor, but turned the whole estate over to his brother Adam Winthrop, the father of Gov. John, and Lucy. When this uncle John Winthrop died in 1613, his former wife Elizabeth (Risby) Winthrop married in 1617 Reynold Branch; — "Of the hundreth and thirty li you left with me I paid my Awnt Branch 10 li for hir last quarteridge; 5 li for my Cosen Dudlye, to my lord Sayes kinsmans of whom he borrowed yt to beare his Chardges, and 15 li more I haue laid out for him in Clothes and some other necessaries." And two days later he added this postscript for news. — "This morning about 5 o'clock, the Queene was delivered of a girle, which was presently after baptised, because yt cam before the tyme, and was verie sick." And then again as was usual in his business letters he relates more news. (The above girle was Mary Stuart, daughter of Charles I., who married William, Prince of Orange, and became the mother of William III. king of England). "The King of Sweaden mustered his armye after he had retorned from the pursuite of his victorie, to vnderstand what men he had lost, and found his army to be 25000 men, soe found 7000 more then when he begann the battle. He hath 3 other armyes ioyned to him, whereof 20,000 are sent to subdew Bavaria, and 20,000 into Sileatia, and the rest of the setling of the Palsgrave in his cuntrye, and himselfe with his 20,000 men are gone to Frankford vpon the meyne, which if he takes, he is to be King of the Romanes, by the Emperiall law: he was within 5 myles when the newes cam from him, and the generall opinion is that the citty dares not refuse his first somons."

John Winthrop, the Younger left England and arrived in New England in 1631, and we find Emanuel Downing writing him on Nov. 21, 1632, in

which letter he shows his pleasure at John's liking of the "plantacon," and speaks of business matters, of the death of Sir James Ware (the son of Christopher Ware of Yorkshire, Eng.) at the Court of Queen Elizabeth, Secretary to Sir William FitzWilliam in Ireland, Clerk of Common Pleas, Exchequer, Auditor-general of the Kingdom, and a large land-owner in Dublin, Ireland, and once resident of Castle St., Dublin, Ireland. Sir James Ware died May 14, 1632. Emanuel also mentions his son James, the grandson of the above Sir James Ware, and as usual relays the current political news in England, wars in Europe, and adds a very human touch by referring to an interest in a humming bird in "your Countrie"; — "I thank you for your advice about my cattell, I cannot here prouide such servants as I would, of a sodaine, therefore for the present I haue agreed with Mr. Dillingham to take my cattell and keepe them winter and sommer for the third of the increase. — As concerning Mr. Goffe, he refused to receive his monie accordinge to my brothers last direccions sayeing there is much more due vnto him I praye send me ouer this acquittance signed and sealed by your father and your selfe, with whome I am in parte agreed." Then he gave directions about son James; — "ffor my sonne James, I am sorrye to see that he writes a worse hand, and more nonesence in his last letter, then in the letters I recdied a yeare since. I doubt there is noe hope of his attaininge to any learning, therefore if he hath a mind to husbandry, or may be fitt to truck, and playe the merchant, and his likinge stand there vnto I would gladly know it, that accordingly he might spend his tyme therein, for I think the tyme lost that he goes to schoole, and therefore take him from schoole and let my brother Winthrop ymploye him as his servant, as he shall thinke fitt." — "My father-in-Lawe, Sir James Ware is lately dead," and now the general news in Europe is related, and then he breaks of suddenly to make a human and charming request for a humming bird from "your countrie"; — "In the Lowe Countries there is great hope that the States of Holland wilbe lords ouer the 17 Prouinces very shortly, for diuerse Lords and Townes haue revolyed from the Kinge of Spaine and joined themselues to the States: if the Kinge of Spaine will not be able to maintaine his warre there; being depriuved of his wonted passages through Germany and France.

The Kinge of Spaine, as is generally beleiued, stands nowe at a lower ebb then when Q. Elizabeth dyed; his necessities hath put him vpon strainge exegents for monie; the Spanish Inquisicion hath seised vpon many rich men, and burnt them for Heritiques, whereby theire Kinge hath gott all their estate; the Kinge hath alsoe seised vpon the treasure and plate of diuerse manasteries in Spaine, to support him in his warrs.

The Kinge of Sweden goes on very prosperously, and carries all before him in Germany; there is news lately come that he hath ouer throwne the Duke of Fridland, the Emperours Generall, which if it be true, he will make a shorte worke of the warrs in Germany.

You haue a litle bird in your Countrie that makes a humminge noyse, a little bigger then a bee, I pray sent me one of them ouer, pfect in his fethers, in a little box."

John Winthrop Jr. went to England, and was there on 25 March 1635. This excerpt from a letter of Emanuel Downing shows the strained relations between the Church, under Archbishop Laud, and the Puritans, giving people ample reason and desire to quit England; — "This day my brother Kirby cam to me to tell me that Mr. Atwood the leather seller was with him, to give him notice that you should walk waryly and close because there be some that laye wayte to attack you. Mr. Winsloe lyes still in prison, and is like to continuew, for I doe not heare when the lords will meete againe for plantation busines.

I doe heare there will goe at least 20 ships this yeare to the plantation, there is one at the Customes howse apoynted to receive Certificates and give discharges to all such as shall goe to the plantation, some that are goinge to New England went to him to know what they should doe, he had them bring him any Certificate from Minister, Church wardens or Justice, that they were honest men and he would give them their pass; they asked him what subsedy men should doe, he answered that he could not tell who were subsedy men, and would discharge them vpon their Certificates."

After John Winthrop, the Younger had returned to Boston, N. E., Emanuel writes on 10 March 1636; — "Thank be to God for your safe arivall after soe tedious a passadge. I hartilye thank you for the kynde offerr of your howse, but because I cannot yet resolve of my coming this years I pray dispose of yt to your best advantadge. I am advised not to make choyse of any place for my selfe vntill I come there. I have sent you butter, suett and other things, by this shipp, for the particulars thereof I refer you to my wives letters. Sir Arthur Hesilrig refuseth to deall for Capten Endicotts howse, because as he sayth the merchants telleth him, the howse is theirs, and built with their monie &c." — I hartyly thank you for the manie good directions in your letter to me. And for my brother Gostlyn if possiblye I can I will helpe him over; and the rather because his goinge may cause my wife more willinglie to listen therevnto. Shee feareth much hardshipp there, and that we shall spend all, ere wee be setled in a course to subsist even for

I have sent you four books of news, I would have
sent you more but by direction from the Lords, the
printers were restrained from printing any more.

In the low Countries there is great hope if the states of
Holland will be lords over the 17 Provinces very shortly -
for diverse Lords and Townes have revolted from the
king of Spain and joyne themselves to the States -
for the king of Spain will not be able to maintain
his wars there; being deprived of his wonted passages
through Germany and France; /

The King of Spain as is generally believed stands now at
a lower ebb, then when Q: Elizabeth dyed, his necessities
hath put him upon strange exogants for monie, the
Spanish Inquisition, hath seized upon many rich men,
and sent them for Floritige, whereby their Kings hath
gott all their estate, the King hath also seized upon
the treasure and plate of diverse monasteries in Spain
to support him in his wars. /

The King of Sweden goes on very prosperously, and
carries all before him in Germany, there is now lately
come if he hath overthrown the duke of Fridland -
the Emperours Gondall, with if it be true, he will make
a short work of the wars in Germany. /

You have a ^{little} bird in your country, it makes a humming -
noise, a little bigger then a bee, I pray send me one -
upon of them over post in his fathers in a little box

I pray excuse me for not writing to my cousin Dudley
and thanks him for his kind letter, remember my
love to his father and mother himself and his wife
my cousin Feaks and his wife, Mr. Linckson, Mr. Welly
Mr. Wilton and their wives, and I pray tell James D.
if he writt such a scribbles non sense letter, if I am ashamed
to answer it; Thus with my hearty love to you self and
your good wife, I take leave and rest

Your very loving uncle

E. M. Downing

November the
xxith 1632

Will remembers her to you and your wife,
and her cousin Feaks, and her cousin Dudley,
and his wife; in love and service.

foode and rayment. I pray in your next write hir some encouradgment to goe hence vnto you.”

Both John, the Younger, and Gov. Winthrop, by letters, urged Lucy to come to New England. However, at this point it is well to consider the letters of Lucy Downing in which she reveals herself a true Winthrop not much touched, (as was her brother Gov. John) by the religiosity of Browne family of which her mother was a member. She had the same alert, shrewd mind, and business aptitude of her grand-father Adam Winthrop (1498-1562), the London Wool-Merchant, and the first gentleman of Groton Manor. Her letters also make plain that she was fond of life, of the luxuries and comforts, of the enjoyment of the ease and surroundings of the Essex County Estate of her cousin, Sir Harry Mildmay called “Graces” and of the visits to friends in Maplestead, Shrubland, Groton, and Ipswich, and of entertaining in her own London home.

Because of Emanuel Downing’s income of approximately 700 pounds per year as an attorney in the Court of Wards and Liveries together with a lucrative private practice, and because of the evident need of opportunity for the proper education of her sons, it was difficult for Lucy Downing to favor New England. The education and careers of her sons were then her chief concern.

Lucy Downing had Character and Courage Plus, and it was not for the lack of these qualities that she delayed her departure for the Mass. Bay Colony. But she was too intelligent and shrewd to give up the known advantages in England, and to attempt too early the hazards of pioneer life in New England. The education and careers of her sons were then her chief concern. So when her brother, Gov. Winthrop evidently took her to tasks for not following the wishes of her husband, she wrote him a letter in which she made use of the conventional religious phraseology of the Puritan. But she answered him with vigor, sharpness, and plain-speaking.

“We are nowe moste iustlie for our great vnworthynes by the correcting hand of our Father and God banisht the Citty. — Sir Harry Mildmay and my Lady — would haue vs to be wholly with them but wee haue diuied our selues and Georg and Joshua are at Madystone in Kent at schoole, the master hauinge taken a howse there, and the other 3 are at my brother Gostlins where we nowe are — nowe could I present to your vewe houe acsepable your so affectionat leter is to me, it is like the overflowings of Nilus, wich inricheth the land and firtileth it for a year after. Allso I am much obliged to your loue for your sesomable caueats. — But for your 2 ayme wich concern our

abode; for ould Enlan and London, whoe that knowes them can deny the desireablenes of them, as they are in them selues; and for my owne part, changes where euer irksome to me, and the sea much more."

At this point in her letter, Lucy indicates that the religious situation is much improved, "that God doth nowe as gratuslie and groliouslies howld forth Christ, and the word of reconcilliation to vs nowe hear; — but I cannot say that the doctrin of sanctification is nowe so frenquentlie prest and taught as wee haue known, and could wish it. — and I doupt not but that the soules of all His shall be safe in the worst of times and euills; and such of His as He pleaseth to call to other places (in His time) both the end and the means shall concure to effect His will, and the fainted hartedest woman shall then find courage sufficient for the work, and her liathnes shall not hinderi it; but I must then deall plainlie with you, and let you know that many good people hear, and some that vnderstand New Engl. resonable well, both by sight and relations of friends, that are able to iudg, they doe much fear the country cannot afford subsistance for many people, and that if you wear not supplied of incomes from hence, your liues would be very misserable; and I must confes my obseruation cannot confute there opinnions in this. — I fear all that I haue hetherto writen will but conferme your opinion of my loathnes — I could willinglie spare a good share of my life, to enioy youe societie the rest of it, allthoughe it wear in a condition somewhat inferiour to what I nowe haue; yet from extremities good Lord deliuer me; for I haue litell confidence of my self in such cases; but if wee see God withdrawinge His ordinances from vs hear, and inlarginge His presence to you thear, I should then hope for comfort in the hazards of the sea with our litell ones shriking about vs; and that Daniell's pulls should be better to vs with a Christ, then all worlds of pleasures without Him and in such a case I should willinglie rather venter my chilldrins bodyes, and my owne for them, then there soules; but otherwise I cannot see but it weer an effect of diffidence rather then of fayth, to leap callings, estates, conueniences and all till wee are forced from them by some compulsion. But nowe you may saye, — I am but a wife and therefore it is sufficient for me to follow my husband; for that let me answer you, that what I say to you by way of caueat I haue objected to him; that I will not deny, for I thought it my duty; but that I was euer peremptory against his goeing, or that I euer knew the time that he might haue composed his ocasions fit for such a change with promise of comfort to him selfe or famylie or satisfaction to Christian frinds, if my will had not bine his hindrance, this I vtterly deny whoe euer affirms it."

Again on March 4, 1636/7, she writes her brother that she had received "your dayntie fruits wich wear indeed as good as ould Eng. it selfe affords, in theer kinde but coming from New Eng; and from your selfe, they wear rarities indeed." She was at "Graces" the country home in Essex of Sir Harry Mildmay and states, "Sir Hary and my Lady were much taken with them." She says that she has been at Groton, Ason, Shrubland, Maplestead, and Cowne, and further states that James Downing who had returned to Eng. in 1635 had been ill with "a few ague fits." — "And God hath hitherto moste graciouslie preserved our famylie from the arrows of pestilence."

Lucy and family probably left London these many months to avoid the illness and plague there. She also speaks of conditions in England, "but for the great cause, moste suddaine and sad is the change in so shorte a time — thes are dayes of tryall — I confess could a wish transport me to you, I think, as big as I am, I should rather wish to bring an Indyan then a coknye into the world. But I cannot see that God hath yet freed vs for that journie, — and I see more proballitie of the concurrence of things that waye nowe then formerlie. — George and his father complye moste cordyally for New Eng. but poor boy, I fear the journie would not be so prosperous for him as I could wish, in respect you haue yet noe societies nor means in that kinde for the education of youths in learninge; and I bless God for it he is yet reasonable hopefull in that waye; and it would I thinke as wee saye greue me in my grave to know that his mynde should be withdrawne from his booke by other sports or inployments, for that weer but the way to make him good att nothinge. Its true the collegdes hear are much corruptted, yet not so I hope, but good frinds maye yet finde a fittinge tutor for him."

It may be well to say here that from 1602 to approximately 1640 there were from the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, reports and rumors of licentiousness, drinking, rioting, swearing, and low moral discipline (probably much exaggerated, as is usual concerning college students; the vices of the few overshadow the many more virtues of the majority). Even John Winthrop in his "Christian Experiences" states that, "In my youth I was lewdly disposed; inclining and attempting (as far as my heart enabled me) all kinde of wickednese except swearing and scorning religion." However one would be inclined to believe that John Winthrop refers more to the sins of the Spirit than those of the flesh. He indeed was so mature and foward a youth as to leave Trinity College, Cambridge, after two years, to marry at the early age of seventeen. Such a mature youth was surely able and observant enough to be conversant and indeed appreciative of the greater and

many more virtues among students than evils. Yet it was on this very issue of morals and college discipline that he refused to send John Winthrop, the Younger to a college in the University of Cambridge, but had him in 1622, enter Trinity College, Dublin, Ireland, an institution reputed better in morals and discipline, and too under the watchful eyes of Uncle Emanuel, and Aunt Lucy (Winthrop) Downing. Because of the above reports and rumors Lucy Downing was doubtful of New England, and desired tutors for her sons and information on education from her brother. She thus continues; — “and if it maye be with any hopes of his well doeinge hear, knowinge your preualency with my husband, and the hazard the boy is in by reson both of his fathers and his owne stronge inclination to the plantation sports, I am bould to present this sollisitous suit of myne, with all earnestnes to you and my nephew Winthrop, that you will not condecend to his goeinge ouer till he hath either attayned to perfection in the arts hear or that be theer means for to perfect hem theerin with you, wich I should be moste glad to hear of; it would make me goe far nimbler to New Eng; if God should call me to it, then otherwise I should; and I beleeu a collegd would put noe small life into the plantation.” And then by way of postscript she says, — “I forget to tel you how foward wee are for New Eng. Georg his jointure and and myne is sould, and but 3 hundred an 20 pounds would it afford vs; and 2 years dlay for payment; but the truth is, I sawe them so vnwillinge to de me right in the assurance, that I feard payment would be more hardlie drawne from them; and somethinge may be better then nothinge.”

Emanuel Downing also anxious concerning the education of his son George, writes on March 6, 1636, “The name of a Colledge in your plantation would much advantadge yt considering the present distast against our vniversityes, you need not stay till you haue Colledges to lodge schollars, for if you could but make a combination of some few able men, ministers or others to read certeyne lectures, and that yt were knowne here amongst honest men, you would soone haue students hence, and incouradgment to proceed further therein. What great burthen would yt be to a Minister for the present (till you haue meanes and be better supplied with schollars) once a week for a moneth in eurie quarter to reade a logick, greke or hebrew lecture or the like.”

The troubles of the Puritans, of social and political crises were quite enough for Emanuel and Lucy, but the death on March 27, 1635 of Sir Robert Naunton, Master of the Court of Wards and Liveries must have been a great blow to them, and could have been the means of softening somewhat Lucy Downing's attitude towards New England. They had been

close friends of Sir Robert Naunton. Lucy Downing had witnessed his Will and Cordecil, and received by this wil a Bowl with gilt cover, valued at ten pounds, and Emanuel Downing had accompanied him to his country estate at Letheringham, Suffolk, Eng., on Aug. 23, 1634, when the Master of the Wards became ill.

The limited number of attorneys of the Court of Wards and Liveries, was subject of special appointment of the Master of the court of Wards and Liveries, and sometimes upon the suggestion of the king or of his favorite Minister.

Sir Robert Naunton was a stanch protestant as well as Emanuel Downing. Therefore, under the circumstances, the death of Sir Robert Naunton made less certain Emanuel Downing's continued attorneyship in the Court of Wards and Liveries.

One may be sure that by 1637 Lucy Downing knew that she was destined for New England, yet she still gave some feeble resistance to the idea of emigration, — "I cannot yet present you with more then formerly of our cominge to you wich is next and next springs or falles; yet beleeeue me, I doe not aprehend it aduantagious to vs to be vpon such vncertainties either for soule or body. I could wish a more settled condidion in New and ould, — the difficulties to New England, are not all vanisht, not the motives neither, and it wear well if peac and truth might prosper in your littell sosieties; but it is feard as the ould prouerb; the Diuell with haue a Chapell whear God hath a Church; and what policy or wisdom preuent that epidemicall desas. Our frinds att Groton and att Graces and charter howse are reasonable well."

Lucy Downing to John Winthrop, March 23, 1637

Several letters now announce the probable time of the Downings' coming to New England. Francis Kirby writes on May 10, 1637 to John Winthrop; — "My brother Downinge will hasten to you, the next springe will be farthest God willinge; for he seeth that euery year brinngeth forth new difficulties."

Five years after 1633 when Edward Howes wrote to John Winthrop, Jr., "Tis certaine your vncle Gostlyn and aunt will goe ouer with their family in the springe; and if you come this winter to vs, its very likely you may perswade your aunt Dow (ing) to goe with them; for your vncle D. he could wish himselfe there now; he is neuer better nor merrier then when he is talkinge of New England," we find Emanuel Downing writing thus to John Winthrop, on 21 Ober 1637; — "Its noe small comfort to me that I haue hope ere long

to enioy your Companie, I purpose God willinge to sett forth hence in the begynning of Aprill at furthest and to take your sonne hence with me.

Ffor my provision of Corne I purpose to buy yt there. If you feare the rising of the prise, I pray buy some for me and promise payment in money at my landing. — The Nobility, gentry and Comons of Scotland are in Confederatie and combyned soe strong togeather that they will admitt of noe Conformity to uor good Bishop's oders, they haue throwne out the hold booke of Comon prayer, beaten their Bishops and trne their sirplisses of the backs of the Ministers, and manie more outrages in the kind wee heare of dayly.

The Dutch haue taken in Breda — I follow your counsell in coming to the Bay before I resolve where to pitche, I pray helpe me to hire or buy some howse (soe as I may sell yt againe if I shall remove) in some plantation above the Bay.

From the records we find that "Mr. Downing was licensed to pass from England beyond the seas March 13, 1637/8, and sailed immediately."

The trip says one report took about eight weeks which would have landed him and his family at Boston, Mass. early in June 1638. At any rate he arrived on the "Thomas and Frances" between early June and Sept. 7, 1638, for on that date Rev. Edmund Browne, who sailed on the same vessel, wrote that Lucy Downing supplied his wants on the voyage "our of her treasury of provisions. I was joined at the messe with them, had a often refreshing wth freshe meate and bottle beare et coeler."

At Salem, Massachusetts

Emanuel Downing and family were settled in Salem, Mass., a few weeks after landing, and he and his wife joined the Church there on Nov. 4, 1638.

Mr. Perley in his History of Salem, Mass., says that Emanuel Downing was in Salem, Mass. in June 1638, and within a month thereafter purchased of Robert Cole the three hundred acres of land lying in what is now Peabody at Proctor's Crossing which had been granted to him by the town Dec. 28, 1635. Mr. Downing erected a house upon it and called it "Groton," after the name of the English home of his wife. They lived upon this place. It was not far from Gov. Endicott's Orchard Farm and a highway ran from one to the other.

Lucy Downing speaks of the building of the house in a letter to her sister-in-law Margaret Winthrop on November or December 1638, "I hope you will

honer poor Salem and vs with your presence when our howes is but habitable, for handsome it will not be this year."

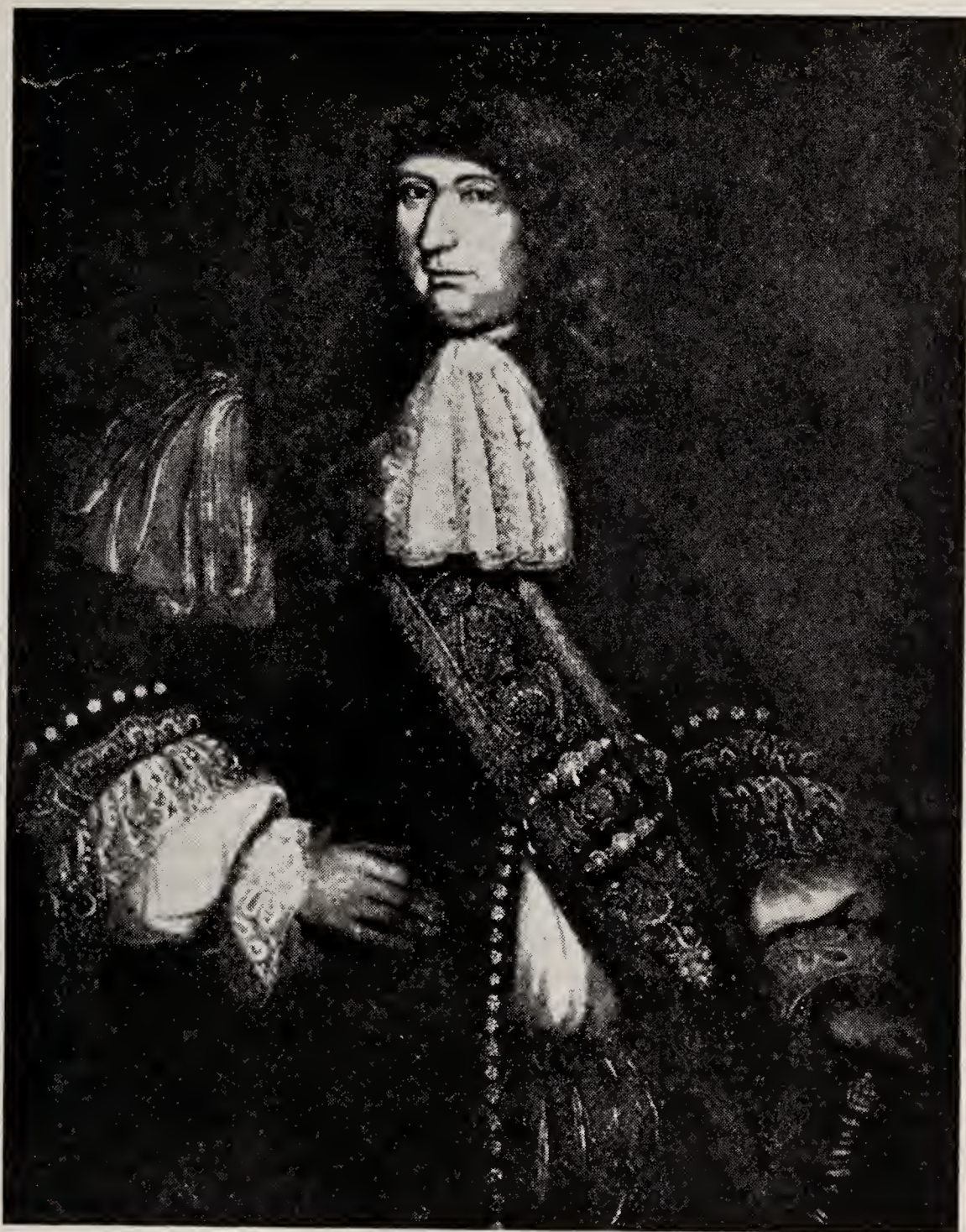
"July 10, 1638, the town graunted to Mr. Downing one hundred acres of land adjoining to Mr. Coe's farm, which he had purchased, lying on the south-west side of said farm, next Roger Maury's farm; but on Oct. 17, 1638 this grant was reversed, and instead the town granted to him one hundred acres on the North side of and adjoining the farm bought of Cole, whereby the farm might be commodious to him. Four hundred acres of land, eighty acres being meadow, was also granted to him July 6th, 1638, which tract lay adjoining to Humphrey Bishop's farm northwesterly."

In the year of 1638 and 1639 there two events of considerable note to the Downing family. George Downing (later Sir George Downing), the eldest son of Emanuel, and Lucy (Winthrop) Downing was placed under a tutor, by the name of Rev. John Fisk to finish his preparation for the new College at Cambridge, Mass., which was named Harvard College in 1639, and his entrance that year as a student of the College, and secondly, the marriage of Mary Downing, the daughter of Emanuel Downing, and his first wife, Anne (Ware) Downing, and grand-daughter of Sir James Ware of Yorkshire, England, to the well-to-do linen Merchant, Anthony Stoddard a recent arrival in the Bay Colony, possibly at the same time and on the same vessel as the Downings.

Through Mary (Downing) Stoddard, Emanuel Downing became the ancestor of many distinguished descendants. Among them are Gen. William T. Sherman, the Deacon Family of Bridgeport, Conn., Rev. Solomon Stoddard, 1st Librarian of Harvard College and a famous devine of Springfield, Mass., and of Rev. Jonathan Edwards, and his eminent descendants including Aaron Burr once Vice-President of the United States, of Judge John Trumbull, L.L.D. Author, Poet, Justice of Connecticut, as well as of Samson Stoddard, who gave his name to that 80,000 acres tract and the Lake therein, known today as Stoddard, N. H.

Mary Downing came over to the Bay Colony with her sister Susan under the care of Gov. William Coddington in 1633, and lived with Gov. John and Margaret Winthrop until her marriage. "Mary Downing was admitted to Church in Boston 9 May 1633. Mary Downing kinswoman of our brother John Winthrop, Governour."

It would seem that Mary Downing (or Marie as she was called) had an engaging personality and well liked by her relatives and friends in England,



Courtesy of the Boston Athenaeum
The son of Emanuel, and Lucy (Winthrop) Downing,
Sir George Downing, 1623-1684
A.B. Harvard 1642
Knighted by Charles II, 1660
Made Baronet, 1663

for they all wish especially to remember her in their letters, as the Kirbys, Edward Howes, John Blurette, the steward of Grotor Manor, and Lucy Downing (her step-mother) sends some "stufte to Mary — suposinge — maye haue need of it in time if not yet," and her uncle Rev. Joseph Downing remembered her by saying, "tell my Cozen Marie that I will not forget her; her token shalbe restored; at the last she shall have a letter from me next month."

Only one letter of Mary Downing is extant, a rather pitiful one addressed to her father, but in response to the criticism of her step-mother, Lucy (Winthrop) Downing. It is quoted here in part; —

"I found soe much yo^r love and see that neither time nor distance of place doth diminish or blast the same, w^{ch} I confesse and desire to acknowledge as a great mercy and the cheife comfort for a temporall that I have to solace myselfe withall. Father I trust in Him who hath the harts and the disposings of them in His hands, that I haue not provoked you to harbor soe ill an opinion of me as my mothers lres (letters) do signifie and give me to vnderstand; the ill opinion and hard pswasion w^{ch} shee beares of me, that is to say, that I should abuse yo^r goodnes, and bee prodigall of yo^r purse, neglectfull of my brothers bands and of slatterishnes and lazines; for my brothers bands I will not excuse my selfe, but I thinke not worthy soe sharpe a reproofe; for the rest I must needs excuse, and cleare my selfe if I may bee beleived. I doe not know my selfe guilty of any of them; for myne owne part I doe not desire to bee myne owne iudge, but am willinge to bee iudged by them with whom I live and sees my course, whether I bee addicted to such thinges or noe. For my habitt, it is meane, for the most, as many seruants, and if I had not had money w^{ch} I had for some thinges here, I might haue wanted many necessaries w^{ch} I could haue bin without, except I should haue made you a scorn here, w^{ch} I was not willinge to doe. I writt to my mother for lace not out of any prodicall or proud mind, but onely for some crosse cloathes, which is the most allowable and comendable dressings here. Shee would haue mee weare dressings, w^{ch} I did soe longe as they would suffer mee, whilst the elders with others intreated mee to leaue them of, for they gave great offence; and seeinge it hath pleased the Lord to bringe me hither amongst His people I would not willingly doe any thinge amongst them that should be displeasinge vnto them. But for myne owne part since my sendinge for thinges gives such offence I will be more sparinge in that kind hereafter, but leaue to the Lord to deale with mee accordinge to His mercy, earnestly desineinge Him to give mee an hart to bee content with my portion, knowinge that nothings can beefall mee but that He hath ap-

pointed. — Deare Father, I am farr disteat from you and know not how longe it will please the Lord to continue it soe, but how-soeuer I desire to rest satisfied with His will, and doe earnestly desire to submitt my selfe in all duty and obedience, belongeth vnto a child, to yo^r selfe and my mother as if I were with you.” It is evident that Mr. Downing has urged his daughter to marry. She continues thus, “Father I pceiue by yo^r lres (letters) that you would very willingly to haue mee change my condition, w^{ch} I must confesse I might soe may with divers, if the Lord pleased to move my hart to accept any of them, but I desire to wayte vpon Him that can change my hart at His will. Thus with my humble duty to yo^r selfe and my mother craving pdon of you both, and of her if I haue given her any offence.” Boston, 27 Nov. 1635.

There is little on record concerning Mary (Downing) Stoddard, besides the remarkable lives of her two surviving sons, Rev. Solomon Stoddard, and Samson Stoddard, of Stoddard, N. H., and her many distinguished, even eminent descendants, and also that she died at Boston, Mass., June 16, 1647.

There is an account of her death by the Rev. John Eliot, — Rec. 1st Church, Roxbury, Mass.

“1647. From yt time foward a great sicknesse epidemical did the Lord lay vpon vs so yt the greatest parte of a towne was sicke at one, whole familys sick young and old; at w^{ch} time of visitation blessed Mris. (Winthrop) the Gov’nors wife dyed, also a lusty strong woman of Boston, Mris. Stodder fondly eat Green peaches, w^{ch} set her to so vyolent a vomiting at yt burst her intralls, as its thought & so she dyed.”

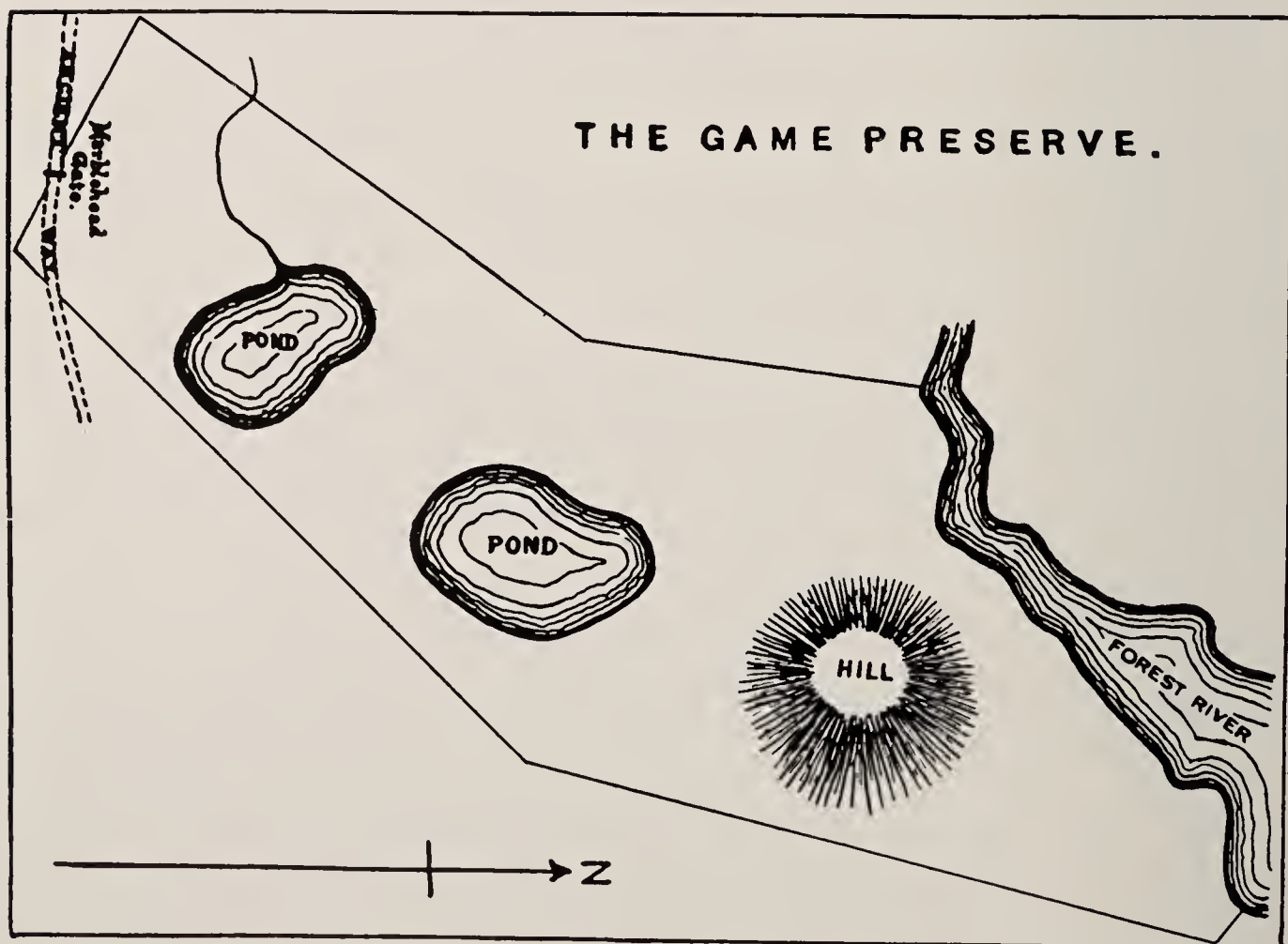
That the Rev. John Eliot should record these quaint but pitiful and gruesome accounts in detail, is rather amazing, unless he felt the urge to impress the moral of the events by a fatherly and ministerial admonition of, — don’t eat Green peaches on hot June days.

The Game Preserve at Salem, Massachusetts

Emanuel Downing was evidently fond of sports, for he established an activity at Salem, Mass., that savored of English Customs by bringing from England to the Bay Colony, at graet expense, “all things fitting for takinge wild fowl by way of duck coy.” In 1638 the town of Salem, Mass., granted him five hundred acres of land for placing the decoys. On Sept. 6, 1638 “being desirous to encourage such design as tend to public good (the General Court), do give full liberty to place the same duck coys in some convenient place within the bonuds of Salem as the town and he can agree and that it

shall not be lawful for any person to shoot any gun with in half a mile of the pond where such duck coy shall be placed nor shall use any other means for disturbance of the fowl there" except with permission of Mr. Downing, and punished in descretion of the Court."

Mr. Perley in his History of Salem, Mass., states, — "although the Court said that that order applies to others' decoys, no similar rights were granted to any other person. Mr. Downing apparently did not consult the town of Salem nor request it to grant to him a pond and land for this purpose. There was a tract of about fifty acres of land that he deemed to be adapted to his purpose, but it was a part of grant to John Humphrey, on Forest River. It contained two ponds, now known as Coy ponds, and a hill, now called Legge's Hill, which overlooked the ponds. Mr. Humphrey conveyed, on the same day, to Mr. Downing the grant of right to maintain this shooting ground, "the two ponds and so much high ground above the ponds as is needful to keep the duck coy private from the disturbance of plowmen, herdmen



PLAN OF THE GAME PRESERVE.

Courtesy of Richard Perley, Esq., & Family, Salem, Mass.

or others passing by that way, which may enclose so as he take above fifty acres of upland round about the grant."

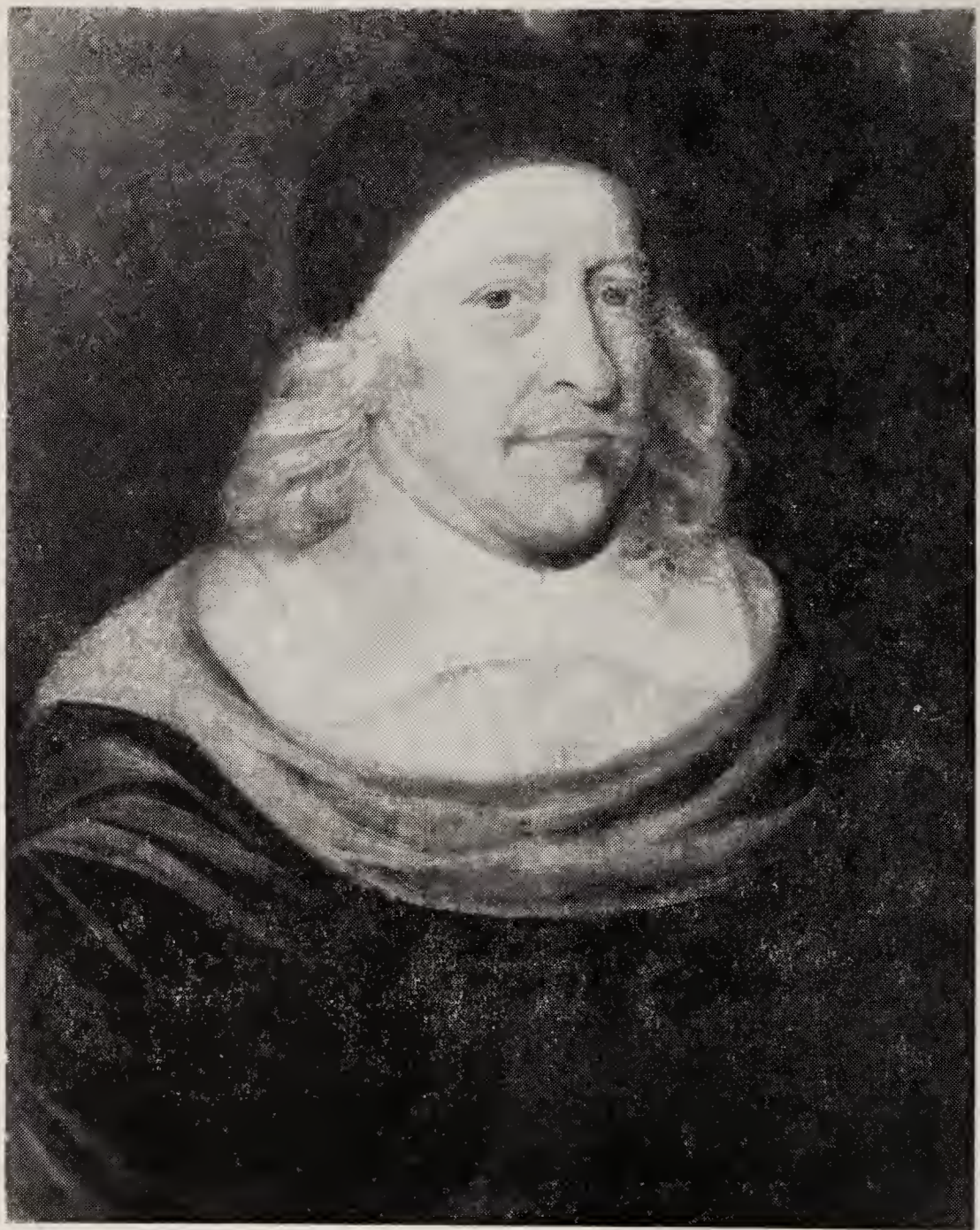
"This exclusive privilege was enjoyed by Mr. Downing only a few years," and when he finally went to England in 1654, he deeded this tract to his grand-son Rev. Solomon Stoddard, A.B. Harvard 1662 & A.M., the son of Mary (Downing), and Anthony Stoddard, "fellow of the College of Cambridge" later an eminent Minister at Springfield, Mass., and grand-father of the more famous Rev Jonathan Edwards. Rev. Solomon Stoddard was the first appointed Librarian of Harvard College. After possessing the land for ten years Mr. Stoddard sold and conveyed it to Moses Maverick and Richard Rowland, both of Marbleheat, Mass., May 1, 1667."

Emanuel Downing on 22 Oct., 1638 wrote to his brother-in-law Gov. John Winthrop about some business matters, and letters from Francis Kirby, and then invited him to visit Salem; — "I thanke you hartilye for your kynde invitation, but I hope there wilbe noe necessitye of my being there this Winter, there is more cause of your coming hither, where I shall, God willing, acquaynt you with the secrets of ye decoye, I pray resolute to come ere winter."

Civil offices held by Mr. Downing

In the spring of 1638/9 Emanuel Downing was made freeman in March at Salem, Mass. He was also propounded for an Assistant (that is, one of the Colony's Magistrates, — equal now to the Governor's Council); about his record John Winthrop, his brother-in-law wrote in his Journal on May 22, 1639 that he knew him "to be a very able man, etc., and one who had done many good offices for the Country for these ten years, yet the people would not choose him," "being jealous that the government of the Colony would become too much a Winthrop Family concern."

However Mr. Downing was elected Deputy to the General court of the Mass. Bay Colony (from Salem, Mass.), from 1639 to 1641, in 1644 and 1648. He was also a Magistrate or Judge in the Quarterly Court at Salem, Mass., from 1639 to 1644, and in 1649. Emanuel Downing was early made recorder of Deeds at Salem. He was especially appointed to restore order in the ownership of land, and to verify valid land-grants. He recopied important items of land grants. The earlier copied grants starts with Oct. 1, 1634, and many of the Deeds can now (1958) be seen in the Land Grant



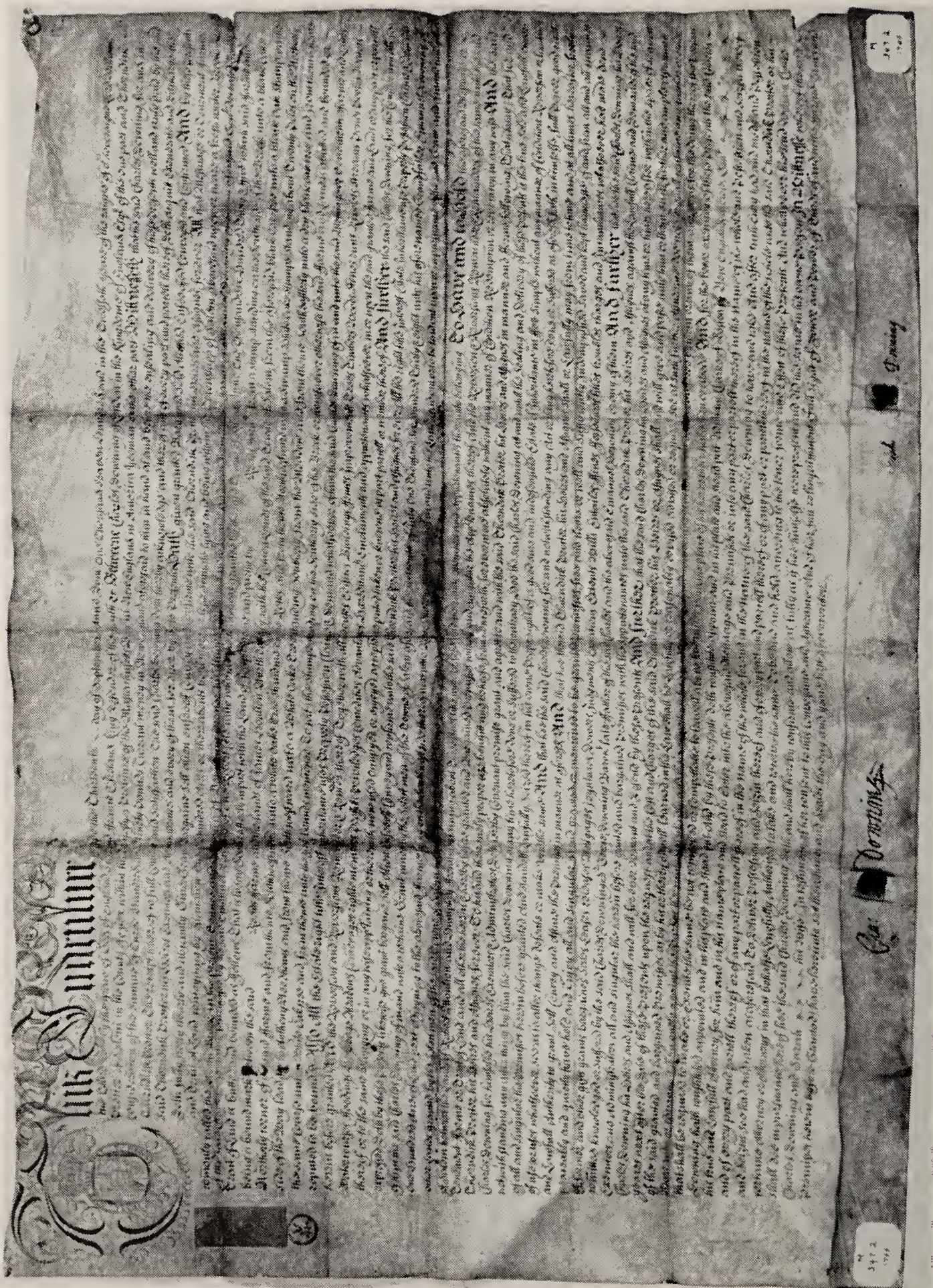
Courtesy of the Boston Athenaeum
The Lynn Gentleman
Conceivably A Portrait of Emanuel Downing

Book at the Salem, Mass. Court house. The records are well written in the clear bold hand-writing of Emanuel Downing.

When the Rev. Nathaniel Ward of Ipswich, Mass., had made an outline of the famous one hundred Laws called the "Body of Liberties" which became later the fundamental Laws of Massachusetts, Emanuel Downing was appointed one of a Committee of three to transcribe them for each town.

Emanuel Downing kept at alert interest in foreign news that might affect the Plantation, and too was busy with social and religious matters of the Colony, as well as the close concern of Gov. John Winthrop's activities and welfare as the letter to John Winthrop of March 2, 1638 will attest; — "I feare not the coming of shippes vnto vs because I know it will not be in the power of any Mortall man (though as malituous as the Divill himselfe against vs) to hinder them. I am much more troubled that you write how you are yet sometimes feverishe; I pray be more watchfull for your health, that you oppresse not your bodye nor spirits with the publique affaires, but rather spare yourselfe a while that you may be the better enabled for tyme to come; cold and wett especially of your feet are two great traytors to your health, and must be watched verie narrowly, verie narrowly. The good Lord preserue you to vs, and I shall never feare foreigne malice, soe long as the trew worship of God is by authority vpheld amongst vs, for he is faithfull and wilbe a sure rock of defence to his beloved. Mr. Rogers hath an overture of plantation betweene Newberry and Ipswich which I feare wilbe streightned between Ipswich and Newberry, as Cambridge is by hir neighbour towne; now at Salem wee haue manie farmes to be sould enough for all his Companie, and the Towne desires much his joyning with our pastor, he may also haue with vs a plantation by himselfe, soe that I hope we shall keepe him here or at Newberry."

Gov. John Winthrop from 1629 to 1640 devoted his energy and thoughts to the Government and welfare of the Masscahusetts Bay Colony, and for this reason had been forced to hand over the management of lands and farms to an Overseer, who through incompetence and bad stewardship had contracted large debts that almost ruined the Winthrop Estate. So by 1640 there were three grave problems for John Winthrop to solve; — 1st, to salvage what he could of his estate and pay his debts; 2nd, to meet the problem of the economic depression caused by the struggle of Charles I with Parliament and with the fast growing power of the Puritans in England, which struggle stopped emigration to America, and left the Bay Colony without the usual immigrant buyers of its products; and, 3rd, the problem of whether he



Deed from Charles Downing, Esq., London, England (grand-son of Emanuel Downing) to Thorndike Proctor, of the Downing Farm at Salem Village (Proctor's Conner, Peabody, Mass.) known as "Groton," named after Lucy (Winthrop) Downing's ancestral home in England, Sept. 13, 1701.

Courtesy of Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts

should yield to the advice and urging of his British friends to return to England to help the Puritan Cause there.

A lesser man than Governor John Winthrop would have found the above ample and good excuses to set sail for England to recoup his fortune, and to gain preferment and honour in the English Government. But not John Winthrop; he stayed in the Colony, preferring to make the Bible Commonwealth of the Massachusetts Bay Colony (as he hoped) a permanent way of life in America.

No matter what one may think of his type of Puritanism, one must admire the courage, strong will, and staunch character of John Winthrop, who faced seeming disasters, turned these crises and events into Triumph.

Before Gov. Winthrop died, with the aid of a large land grant by the Government, generous support (transfer of ancestral land in England to Margaret Winthrop) of his son John, and with gifts from many friends, Emanuel Downing among them, he saw his estate rescued. Also he saw his Colony gradually restored to economic stability.

In all these financial difficulties and trying times, we find Emanuel Downing lending sympathy and material aid; he wrote from Salem, Mass., 9-11-1639, — "I remember when this Plantation began, Mr. Isake Johnson said more than once, that he was resolved to spend and be spent in this busines. What he then said you haue effected. Now if the Country should fayle I am confident the Lord will in his good tyme give meanes of freedome out of all your cares and feares. I haue a Cow Calfe at Mistick, I pray accept of yt, and were I in monie as I haue ben, I should doe that would become a loving brother. Job was raised to a full estate in this way by his freinds, soe I conceiue tis a dutye and debt the Countrie stands in to free you, and being a way of God you may with comfort accept yt; how ever the Country may deal with you, I pray doe not you nor my sister oppresse your spirits herewith, but wayte with cheerfull patience on the Lord, who alone can and ordinarily doth bring good out of evill, and, confident I am he will in his owne way and tyme performe yt to you. ." and again on Feb. 12, 1639, "I doe — much rejoyce — that the Lord hath enabled you with patience and cheerfulness to beare your burthen, he knowes well what service you haue done for his people and Churches here. He hath promised requitall for a cup of water given to one of his. I need not tell you of his riches, ability and faythfulness in the performance of his word and promises to the meanest of his servants nor of his trew and tender love under you; soe I am assured he will repaire and

fully repay all your losse, costs and charges spent in his service. I pray be confident hereof and doe him that right, in being as cheerfull and contented now as when you had the world most at command."

In another letter of April 1, 1639, Emanuel Downing states clearly the difference between people who seek office to serve their Country and those that take office to enlarge their estates and power. Thus in historically sound appreciation of Gov. Winthrop, Mr. Downing indicates that service is the basis of his own political principles.

"I am confident you having spent your selfe and estate in this honourable service; that yt wil redounde to your greatest credit and honour with God and man, then if you had gayned riches as other Governours doe, both in Virginea and elsewhere, and yt will rise up in Judgement against extorting Governours that shalbe set over the people in succeeding generations when your selfe shalbe at rest reaping the fruits of your present labours."

Marriage and Education of their children

While Emanuel Downing was engaged in his many activities, of law practice, of Church, and of the managing of his lands and farm, Lucy Downing lent her aid and fowarded them. Upon Lucy's shoulders was the burden of directing the farm home, alotting the maid-service, and other attending duties of their Salem Village lands (now Proctor's Corner, Peabody, Mass.), as well as supervising the education of the Children, and too making plans for the marriages of her neice Abigail Goade, and of her step-children James, and Susan Downing.

In January 1640-/1, she writes to her brother Gov. John Winthrop, — "Sir, James Downing is desierous to marie with Rebecca Coper whoe liues with Mr. Endicott. — Mr. Endicott will expect to be sought in the thinge, and his countenance therein will be of moment; theerfore my husband would humble desire your selfe, if you haue noe exception against it, that you would be pleased to do him the fauor to writ to Mr. Endicott to desire his furtherance theerin. The disposition of the mayde and her education with Mr. Endicott are hopefull, her person tollerable and the estate very conuenient, and that is the state of the busines. Allso James is encouraged by the mayds frinds to prosecute the sute, but I think he hath not yet spoken to mayd as I hear."

Then Lucy continues by asking her brother to urge the Minister Hu Peter to help on school matters; — "Allso I fear wee must entreat you to work with

my cosen Peters for his consent and the churches, wich is indeed all in him, that wee maye haue some meanes at our farms for the education of our familyes. Nowe to put such a charge vpon only familye as that is profferd to our particuler is as much as nothing, because it is beyound our grasp. But a few familyes joyninge, through Gods blesing so setled apou theer busines, might be better able to support the charge and with more comfort by much then in this remotnes wee are in, when I dare saye wee haue not 3 dayes in the week fre from either wholle distraction or much discomposure theerby, both in temporall and allso spirituall ocasions whearin I spare respect of your owne experience and only desier you to inlighten his iudgment in the thinge. I question not your owne, ells I should be more perticuler."

She speaks further concerning the education of her son Joshua Downing, telling of his desire for sea-life and career. This same Joshua Downing later lived in the Barbadoes, and finally through the influence of his brother, Sir George Downing was put in a position in the Custom office at Glasgow, Scotland.

"Allso Sir, Jo. Downing is very eager for sea imployment; my cosen Peters wisht me to put him to Mr. Allerton for a while, so I moued it to Mr. Allerton, and he doth earnestly aduise I should rather haue him taught first to writ and acoumpt well and such like, that so he might allso be fit for merchandize. Nowe what I humble requeat of your selfe is that you will pleas to advise with Mr. Pierce in the thinge; and Mr. Pierce they saye is the moste able to teach in this country. Nowe if it be for a child'e beinge, I shall be as ready to bestow a cove or 2 apou him that waye as another, and if he hath it in an art I hope it may be less casuall, and I shall take it for a very kind respect in Mr. Pierce. If he pleas to help hearin."

About the same time, Lucy writes Margaret Winthrop; — "My Mayde Abygall (meaning her neice Abigail Goade) is suddaynlie to be married to Robert Moulton of this towne; and I hope it maye proue a blessinge of Comfort to her, for the parnts and sonne are people of a religious peacable life, and prouident in their estates." And then in a postscript, "I desire — to borrow a gander. I haue 3 geoses and not a husban for them, wich lost me at least 40 eggs last year and very general is the loss. — and then she speaks of her daughter Lucy who lived with Margaret and Governor Winthrop, — "But I fear Lucie is not dillegent wich I should take both very ill from her and for a presage of the like. Slothe is a loathsome disease in young people both in the eyes of God and man."

Emanuel Downing was very wisely anxious to see his neice Abigail Goade

and his son James marry into good families with considerable financial backing. He was successful with his niece but not with son James. So he also wrote his brother-in-law John Winthrop thus, — "Sir. -- I haue here in Salem a desire to match my sonne James to a maide that lives in Mr. Endicotts howse; hir sister is maryed here, who says the mayd was left to hir dispose by hir parents, but they dying intestate, the administration and tuition of the maide was by the Court comitted to Mr. Hathorne, Mr. Batter and Goodman Scrugs, and to helpe Mr. Endicott with some present monie, you wrote to Mr. Hathorne, to putt hir to Mr. Endicott to board, who therevpon received 40li aforehand for two years." — He continues, "I desire to see the yssue hereof and to match some of my older Children because some thinke me to blame that none of them are disposed of. I haue provided a verie good match for my niece, Nab. Goade; he is old Moulton his only sonne, a member of our Church, of 4 or 500li estate; if my sonns busines proceed (it did not), I may about a moneth hence haue both couples married on a day."

Some Public Duties

Emanuel Downing from 1639 to 1640 preformed minor yet useful civic tasks. "On Jan. 1639 Mr. Endicott, Mr. Downing and Mr. Hawthorne were to dispose of the house which Mr. Peters bought, as they can, and returne the money for the College," (Harvard).

The results of one task must have given great satisfaction to John Winthrop, and Assistants, for the church and government at Dover, N. H., (both in form and in personal control), had been for some time, disapproved by the leaders of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Thus on "5 Sept. 1639 by General Court Mr. Downing and two others were appointed to treat with a Committee from the towne of Dover — with whom they did agree to certify the same." And later in the same month of September, — "Emanuel Downing and Capt. Edward Gibbons for the General Court of the Massachusetts Bay Colony made arrangements with a committee from Dover, N. H., to unite Dover with the Massachusetts Bay Colony, in which Dover was to be as Ipswich and Salem." Later "6 Nov. 1639, The Deputy Gov., Em. Downing and Mr. Edward Gibbons made final certification of the same."

On another occasion, "7 Oct. 1640 Emanuel Downing with four others were appointed to set bounds between Ipswich, Jefferey's Creeke, & Cape Ann and to certify to the next Court." On the previous day Emanuel Downing was appointed to deal with land sales at Salem, Mass.

George Downing at 1st Harvard Commencement

One of the chief reasons for the eight-year delay of the Downings in coming to America, was the lack of educational facilities for their children especially for George until Harvard was established, so it is strange indeed that we find no mention of Harvard College, or of the first Commencement (where George Downing placed second in his class), in any of Lucy (Winthrop) Downing's or Emanuel Downing's letters. In fact there is no data on George Downing's life at Harvard except that he graduated in the first Class A.B., 1642; received Dec. 27, 1643 an appointment for "Ye year" at the Colledge on a salary of four pounds per annum "to read to the Junior pupills as ye Psident shall see fit," (at the meeting of the Government of Harvard Colledge held in the colledge Hall this 27th of 10th 1643, — "It is ordered yt 2 Batchelours be chosen for the helpe of ye Psident to read to ye Junior pupills as ye Psident shall see fit, to be allowed out of the Colledge treasury 4 L per annum to each of ym for ych painnes, Sr. Buckeley and Sr. Downing are appointed for yt service to continue for ye year;" George Downing with other Harvard alumni purchased a small parcel of land (now a part of the College Yard), planted apple trees and called it the Fellows Orchard, and deeded it to Harvard before 1650 (George Downing was one of the first two Fellows appointed at Harvard); and in 1669 George Downing (then Sir George) contributed for the building of the new Colledge 5 pounds.

Regardless of no information concerning Harvard's First Commencement in the Downing Letters, we can through "New England's First Fruits," and imagination recreate the event.

The Harvard Commencements have been strictly male affairs, but one can well imagine that Lucy (Winthrop) Downing and Margaret Winthrop, the Governor's wife could hardly be far from the exercises. We can well understand Lucy Downing's pride and emotion, when she knew her son George would receive the degree in Arts. Emanuel Downing probably was in England on business in 1642, and could not attend the Commencement. However George Downing's Uncle John Winthrop, the Governor was there to witness the exercises.

The first Harvard Commencement was on Sept. 23, 1642 (Oct. 3rd). Gov. John Winthrop, Deputy-Gov. John Endicott, the honorable gentlemen (honorandi viri), and (Reverendi Presbyteri) Reverend ministers representing the government, and Church attended the morning session (of theses), and then about midday came the formal dinner for the graduates,

Governors, Overseers, and ministers from towns around, in the Great Hall of Harvard College recently completed through the efforts of President Dunster.

In the afternoon session came the responses to the quaestiones. Then President Dunster arose and addressed the Governor, Overseers and Ministers, (with suppressed emotions, I imagine), for he knew that in four short years, the English system of collegiate education and discipline had been transplanted in toto on American soil, by saying, "I present to you Honorable Gentlemen (*Honorandi Viri*), these youths, whom I know to be sufficient in knowledge as in manners to be raised to the first degree in Arts, according to the Custom of the Universities in England (*Pro more Academiæ in Angliæ*). The Overseers, Ministers, probably lead by Gov. Winthrop, responded "Placet" (It is our pleasure). The President Henry Dunster conferred degrees on nine young men, George Downing, the son of Emanuel, and Lucy (Winthrop) Downing among them by saying, "Admitto te primum gradum in Artibus, videlicet ad Respondendum Quaestiones pro more Academiæ in Angliæ" (I admit you to the First degree in Arts, namely to reply to the questions according to the custom of the Universities in England.

Finally one of the Ministers gave words of praise and invoked the Congratulations of God (*Congratulationes Dei*), and the Commencement was over.

To the Overseers, Ministers and Government, this event may have been merely satisfaction at the progress of education in the Bay Colony, to Gov. Winthrop more than satisfaction, an assurance that God had blessed his Bible-Commonwealth, but to those who view these twelve short years of struggle, in the light of three hundred of history, these words of President Dunster, "Admitto te primum gradum in Artibus," and especially "Pro more Academiæ in Angliæ," are the climax to a highly significant drama.

I like to imagine that Margaret Winthrop and Lucy (Winthrop) Downing were at the Governor's House in Boston that day to meet John Winthrop and his nephew George Downing for the evening dinner. I further like to imagine that Emanuel Downing on business in far away London, England, months before the pamphlet, "New England First Fruits" reached England's shores, related the good news of the advancement of learning in the Bay Colony to his intimate friend Sir Arthur Hasilrig, M.P., the very same Sir Arthur Haselrig who was host to George Downing on his first return to England in 1646, and introduced him to influential people of the Cromwellian period.

George Downing under the urging of his mother Lucy Downing, the tutoring of the Rev. John Fisk, and the years at Harvard College had learned well the Arts and Latin, for on his successful mission (in 1655) concerning the ceasing of Duke of Savoy's persecution of the Protestants, he had an audience with the leading statesman of France, Cardinal Mazerin, and thus communicated in Latin for two full hours.

A college degree and a fellowship at Harvard could hardly be called a good prospect for the ambitious Winthrop type man like George Downing. So on Feb. 24, 1642/3 Lucy Downing writes her brother Gov John Winthrop, "I am troubled concerning my sonn Georg, I perceiue he is strongly inclined to traueill. Eng. is I fear vnpeaceable and other countries perilous in poynt of religion and maners. Besides wee haue not whearwith to acomodate him for such an ocasion; and to goe a seruant I think might not be very fit for him neither, in diuers respects. Religious Masters or Fellowes are not frequent in traueill, nor is he any scribe. I pray, sir, be pleased to consider of it, and giue him your best aduise, for I fear it maye be some present preiudice to him hear; and the liklyest I can perceiue to be his motiue is his little expectation and fear of 'supply hear.'"

In 1645 George Downing set sail for England via Newfoundland and the Barbadoes. In 1646 he lived at the home of Sir Arthur Hesilrig, M.P., in England. From then on George's progress in gaining wealth and position was rapid.

Since Emanuel Downing was much in England 1642, 1644-6, and 1652 Lucy Downing had the care of the education and employment of Robin (Robert), and Jo (Joshua). Both of the boys were trained to follow the sea.

On Dec. 17, 1648 from Salem, Mass., Lucy writes her nephew John Winthrop, Jr. "My 2 sonns Jo (Joshua) and Robin (Robert), I bless God are safe returnd, but Robin in respect of the loss of his Master, and Jo in respect to the sad sicknes at Barbadoes, they are both gone to Boston to see wich waye Prouidence will dispose them." — "I have a parcell of commends to you from a gentlewoman at Barbados whose name was Thomasine Hilliard before she was maryed. Her father was our overthwart neighbour in Fleet street. Her first husband's name was Pacye, this year maryed to Mr. Noell. They are rich and haue great sugar works. I for ould acquaintance by Jo writ to her, and Jo was wellcome to her, and she would haue set me suger, and hollan(d) to put of hear to be returnd in what she desierd from thence, but Jo had not time to call for them."

Lucy Downing was a true Winthrop, an able planner for the long objective and she could also drive a sound bargain. In March 1649 she wrote to John Winthrop a letter in quite disagreement to her husbands' plan for Robin (Robert).

"Sir, I am very sorye I am still troublesome to you, and cannot but much maruill my husband should make agreement with Mr. Hawkins so disadvantageous to his sonne. I suppose it proceeded principally from 2 causes I am ouer credentie, 2 suppose the art of nauigation to be so easly attayned, wich those that are artists in that doe denye, and that without help in the rulles as well as by practis, it can neuer be attained to be more than a common seaman, wich is noe better than commane slauerye. Therefore for my part I dare neuer be so vnfaithful to my childe to consent to his goinge upon the terms he is apen. 2 it is questioned by some wheather an indenture without hand or seall wear sufficient if Mrs. Hawkins ritt to hould him wear tryed in a court; and further Mr. Got being with vs and hearing our speach concerning Robin tould vs the case was betwixt one of Mr. Higinsones sonns and Mrs. Pirce. He denyed to serue her because she could not performe his masters couenant; so he was freed by the court and yourselfe. Yet it was pleaded by her that he had sufficient taught him before, but he proued a seaman was not sufficient till he could make his owne instruments. I am aboue my art I am sure, but my sonne wants his, and I thinke it my duty to afford my best helpe. I theerfore beceech you what in iustice maye be done for his good, maye not be omitted wear it a matter only of some losse or such like I should not much esteeme it; but the boye I know is not of so bearing spirit as some others are, and if he should be crost in his expectancies by his mo. when he from better aduis, he might be apt to such temptations as might be sad to himselfe and vncomfortable to his frinds. I haue ground for what I speake, wich makes me the more earnest to prevent his ocasion of discount in time. And for Joshua I know not what to aduise; he is much discouraged for the West India viages by reason of the siknes theer, and bad paye hear; yet if Mr. Stone be not like to be helpfull to him in teaching him, wich being but a stranger hear I question, if Robin goes not with Mr. Stone, I should think some godly master that had more relation to this place might be more likly for Joshuas good allso. But I must intreat your owne best aduis to them, and the Lord direct, for as the season is I can neither traueill nor wright as I would. — I pray pardon my earnestnes about my children; for the voyage is like to be longe, the sea I aprhend more than ordinarily dangerous, and the companye as far as I hear none of the best. Yet if I maye see

theer calls cleare I hope shall the better yeallde them; but if anny cross prouidences should befall them and theer way not clear, that would be a double affliction; and that is the cause I am so bould with."

On Sat. Feb. 23, 1650, Lucy Downing informed her nephew John Winthrop, Jr. that her son William Norton had returned from England, — "As my sonn (William Norton) went for Eng. he met Joshua in a ship at the Downes, and Robin in a ship from Ireland as he came home."

An Agent in England for Iron Works

In 1644 to late summer of 1645 Emanuel Downing was again in England on business, mostly for his nephew John Winthrop, Jr., and to represent him at the meeting of the undertakers in the Iron-Works company in New England. The letter of Emanuel Downing, dated London 25 Ffebr, 1644, "To his honored Cosen John Winthrop, Esqr., at Tenhills," Boston, Mass., "I blesse God I cam safe to London; where I founde a most miserable distracted state, as you will vnderstand by bookes and passengers; I haue satisfied your Cosen Parkes concerning Roger and their owne children.

I deliuered your letter to Mrs. Hill at the Mayden head in wood street. — The vndertakers refuse to buy any land, vnles 2 or 3 acres to build the works vpon. I pray therefore keepe Mr. Hutchinsons land for yourselfe or me, which I suppose wee may improve to good advantage. There is of your black leade sent into France and the lowe countries, when I heare thence I shall know what to doe.

The Adventurers in the Iron Works haue agreed with Mr. Leader to take care of their works. You know the man. He lived in Ireland. He is a perfect Accountant, hath skill in Mynes and tryall of mettalls, he hath covenanted to serve then 7 yeares, his wages is 100li per annum. He is to haue passdge for himselfe, his wife, 2 children, 3 servants; an howse is to be built for him, and ground to be allowed him for his horses and a few cowes. His 100li per annum begins the 25th of Marche next. When I perceiued they were resolved vpon him; and that yt would be noe advantage to you for me to haue expressed my dislike of their way herein, but haue put more Jealousies into their heads of you; and when they asked me what I thought thereof, In answered that you had travayled from East to West, from North to South, sparing noe costs or paynes for the discoverie of mynes and fitt places for the erecting of Ironworks; and how you obteyned 3000 acres of Boston, 1500 of Dorchester, wherein you haue deserved well from them, and that there wilbe great neede of your helpe though they send one never soe sufficient

for the worke, whereto they replyed that they resolved to satisfie you for the tyme past, and to desire your assistance for tyme to come. Then I told them I was well assured, that Mr. Leder should be a welcome man vnto you; for at my coming thence you expressed your desire to me that myselfe or some other would vndertake the busines; then Mr. Leder told them that he would not medle with any vndertaking of their busines without your free consent and contentment, for soe in private he had promised me to expresse himselfe before them all, which he performed verie honestly. Soe in the end wee concluded of a letter to be sent vnto you vnder all our hands in way of thankfulnes and engagement to give you satisfaction. I would haue demaund noe lesse then 150li per annum for these 3 yeares, because Mr. Folye told me when they were agreeing with Mr. Leder, they would haue giuen him 150li per annum rather then to haue left him. And Mr. Folye said further that the first 2 or 3 yeares would be more chardgeable and paynfull then afterwards, and that there wilbe dayly expence in enterteyning of workemen & others therefore if Mr. Leder had stood vpon yt, he might haue had 150li per annum. Concerning your bills of exchange I deliuered only the bill of 1000li, whereof, as you may perceiue by their letter, they entend to pay but 400li, and when they pay the monie they will haue a writing signed between vs to this purpose, that yf you shall not haue laid out 400li before our ship rettornes, the rest is to be repaid to Mr. Leder for the works in monie, and if there shalbe more doe to you vpon your account the same to be paid with forbearance. I haue sent you 100li worth of cloth per Mr. Graves with the bill of particulars and cockett hereinclosed, the chardges endorsed on the back of the bill. I hope if the Lord sent yt safe you may with good content make 30 li gayne. I spoke for as much linnen cloth to haue sent you by this ship, but the shipp was full laden before I could ge tyt readye. I haue sent you 2 bills of loading, one for the cloath, the other for a few things for my wife. I pray receive them out of the ship. The freight is paid."

Emanuel Downing's letter of 5 May 1645 repeats much of the 25 Ffeb, 1644 letter. However there is the following additions; — "Mr. Leader hath tryed your leade oare and fyndes yt to be a silver myne, therefore I am resolved not to sell any parte thereof." — "The people generallie here now begyn to disrealishe the West Indyas (as I wrote your father) and torne their faces towards New England which is in better credit among all sorts and degrees then yt hath ben some yeares past. Manie ministers now begyn againe to pray publicklye for yt."

Emanuel Downing's return to New England in 1645 was marred by the loss (by fire) of his house in Salem Village (Proctor's Corner, Peabody, Mass.). According to Perley's History of Salem, Mass. — "On sunday April 6, 1645 while Mrs. Downing and her family were at meeting in the town, the chimney of the house caught fire and the house was wholly consumed; the house and bedding, apparel and the household furniture and furnishings, being worth, Governor Winthrop wrote, two hundred pounds."

The Downing family removed to Salem, Mass., in 1645/6, and Emanuel and Lucy Downing "let the farm to various tenants, and other Downings continued to let it as long as it was owned by the family. "From 1646 to 1648 William Flint was the tenant; Thomas Flint, son of the above, leased it from 1649 to 1653. In 1656 Mrs. Downing leased the farm to George Norton, carpenter, of Salem, Mass., for ten years from March 1, 1655/6, the rent to be eighteen pounds a year, and to be paid in Indian Corn, wheat, barley, pork, cheese and cattle. The lessee agreed not to cut lumber for sale and to build upon the farm a strong and sufficient house in every way like that of Mr. Treadwell of Ipswich, except that the chimneys should be — instead of being wholly made of brick, Mr. Norton was to leave the house tenatable at the end of the term, "extraordinary casualty hereby only excepted" in consideration of which he was to have use of the farm rent free for one year.

Mr. Norton assigned the lease to Mr. Roger Preston of Ipswich, Mass., 1658/9, and Mr. Preston removed to the farm one year later. — On the Downing farm he constructed an Ordinary and sold strong liquors "for the entertainment of strangers." — Then "John Proctor was in possession of the farm. In November, probably 1666, after he had removed to the farm, he petitioned selectment for a liscense to entertain travellers, stating that "I live at Mr. Downing's farm which is in the common roadway, which occasioneth several travellers to call in for some refreshment as they pass along and finding it like to be very chargable in case I should continue to accomodate such upon free cost, do therefore earnestly request you that you would be pleased to grant me liberty to set up a house of entertainment and to sell strong water only to strangers. The liscense was continued for many years. John Proctor remained on the farm until 1692. Then his son Benjamin carried on the farm until its title passed from the Downing family, by its conveyance by Charles Downing, Esquire of London, England, the son of Sir George Downing, and grandson of Emanuel Downing, to Thorndike Proctor, Sept. 13, 1701."

(see Essex Co. Reg. of Deeds — book 15 — leaves 6, book 17, leaf 7). Also see photostat-copy illustrated in this pamphlet.

Emanuel Downing acquired the mansion-house on Essex Street, probably once owned by the Rev. Hugh Peter, in 1645/6. It was undoubtedly the finest house then built in the Bay Colony. The Downing family lived here from 1646 to 1656. Now on the same site of this mansion stands the buildings of the Essex Institute.

Probably about the time, Mrs. Lucy Downing and daughter Martha (later Peters) sailed for Scotland to join Emanuel Downing who had already gone to England in 1654, and to Edinburgh, Scotland in 1655, "Mrs. Downing, with the consent of her husband (to quote Perley's Hist. of Salem), conveyed (on Aug. 8, 1656), the messuage to Joseph Gardiner, who had married their daughter Anne as her dower and marriage portion. Capt. Gardiner lived there until his tragic death at the hands of the Indians in King Philip's War, Dec. 19, 1675. He willed all his estate to his wife who survived him. She married secondly Gov. Simon Bradstreet (who lived in Boston and Andover, Mass.), June 6, 1676.

Gov. Bradstreet removed to Salem, Mass., and lived in the house until he died March 27, 1697 at the age of 94 years; his wife survived him and continued to live here until April 19, 1713. Then it by her will went to her Wainwright grand-nieces, and leased by them to Elisha Adlum, who used it as an Inn, called "The Sign of the Globe."

In 1715 Benjamin Ropes was landlord, and in 1716 he bought the place for 320 pounds. This mansion (unfortunately for history's sake), was taken down in 1753.

Description of Mansion House

We are further indebted to Perley's Hist. of Salem, Mass., for the following description of the mansion. "The Mansion house of Mr. Downing on Essex Street was large, two stories in height and many gables having a Great room, Great entry, Great stairs, and Great chamber. There was also a leanto. There were two Chimney Stacks. It had two columns of leaded sash and diamond shaped panes on either side of the front door. There were great lanterns for lighting the ample grounds in front by the use of candles on festive and other occasions, being entered from each floor through doors." See frontispiece for picture of Mansion.

In 1645 when there was danger of war with the Narragansetts, Emanuel Downing wrote John Winthrop, Esq., of Boston a letter that at first sight, is not quite understandable, in the light of Puritan doctrine nor of present ideas of slavery. But if one remembers that from the days of the great Greek

philosopher Aristotle there has been the theory that Natural Slavery (i.e. of people of inferior quality) is right, but Political Slavery (i.e. of people of like status and civilization), by capture is wrong; and again should we call to mind that Margaret Winthrop and many of the Bay Colonists had Indian servants near slaves, and Negroes had been slaves in Virginia for more than ten years, the letter quoted below does not take on a particularly personal sinister ideology. It seems just to judge Emanuel's suggestion according to the prevailing standards of 17th Century America. No Puritan, for long (Emanuel Downing included), would think white people as inferior or slaves. The letter also contains interesting data on the daily life and thoughts of Emanuel.

"A warr with the Narraganset is verie considerable to this plantation, ffor I doubt whither yt be not synne in vs, having power in our hands, to suffer them to maynteyne the worship of the devill which their paw waves often doe; 2lie. If vpon a Just warre the Lord should deliuer them into our hands, wee might easily haue men women and children enough to exchange for Moores, which wilbe more gaynefull pilladge for vs then wee conceive, for I doe not see how wee can thrive vntill wee gett into a stock of slaves sufficient to doe all our buisines, for our children's children will hardly see this great Continent filled with people, soe that our servants will still desire freedome to plant for them selues, and not stay but for verie great wages. And I suppose you know verie well how wee shall maynteyne 20 Moores cheaper then one Englishe servant.

The ships that shall bring Moores may come home laden with sale which may beare most of the chardge. If not all of yt. But I marvayle Conecticott should any wayes hasard a warre without your advise, which they cannot maynteyne without your helpe.

My wife hath ben pretilye of late, I wishe shee makes hir selfe not sick againe by trying new conclusions. I pray hasten hir retorne, yt being the buisiest tyme of the wholl yeare, for hay and harvest are both in hand, whereby shee hath occasion of often riding, which I suppose the best phisick for hir."

Emanuel Downing was again in England in May 1647, for on the 4th of that month he wrote to John Winthrop a rather interesting and gossipy letter, a part of which is quoted here; — "My brother Gostlin is much broken, but my sister lookes fatt and lusty they desire to be remembered vnto you soe doe our frinds at Yeyes and at Cox hall. I mett with Colonell Mildmay vpon

the way who inquired verie earnestly after you. Mr. Bacon of Shrublin is dead, hir 2 sonnes Nath; & Francis are of Parliament.

A Colonell being a Justice in Kent, there was an Inditement read against him for stealing 2 horses; the colonell said is there such a knave of my name? not dreaming yt was against him selfe; being a Committman, and a Colonell in the Kentish trouble he tooke the 2 horses from a Malignant for the Parliament service. The Judge stayed the proceedings. The Parliament hath turned out Sir Chidly out of Comission for perswading the party to preferr the bill. I pray remember my service to Mr. Dudley and lett him see the paper inclosed and then send it to my wife."

The proper marriages, marriage dowers, and portions for their daughters were of considerable concern to Emanuel and Lucy (Winthrop) Downing, and in not much less degree to the Ministers and the Community at large. The Conventions were those of the 17th century, but the attitude of these girls, and their emotions towards partners for life were even as modern as today or tomorrow. For Lucy, George, Joshua, and Robin (Robert) were more of the Winthrop family type than that of the Downing family. In characteristics, they seemed to have had the alertness, independence, agresiveness, and intelligence of their great-grand father Adam Winthrop, therefore freely desired and tried to manage their own affairs.

The Elders were much concerned about Emanuel's attempt at arranging a marriage between Mr. Pesler and one of his daughters (Susan, Lucy, or Ann), as appears in Emanuel's letter to John Winthrop in 1648, — "Sir, According to your directions I haue advised with Mr. Endicott & some others about Mr. Pesler with whom I am rather encouradged to proceede then to breake of, but Mr. Hathorne tells me from the Elders of the Bay that it wilbe a scandall to marry my daughter to such a man that hath noe religion, he sayth that I was stayned in poynt of coveteousnes in Mr. Cooks buisines, for demanding my monie before it was dew; (wherein Mr. Sheapheard having the papers I sent may doe me right). And now in this match, yt wilbe confirmed in theire opinions that I preferr the world above all, which is farr contrarie to my desire and resolution.

Its well knowne how my daughter hath lost fayre opportunityes and in those tymes when I had monie at will, to haue spared hir, whereof shee is now verie sensible, and feares that if shee should refuse Mr. Pesler shee may stay long ere shee meet with a better, vnles I had more monie for hir then now I can spare. I pray afoard me your counsell herein." And then he adds, — "I heare now my cow is reasonable well. I pray let hir be sold with the calfe.

I could sell hir if shee were here, but I had rather doe yt there to you. I doe want 10 bushells of Rye for seede, which would sowe 3 weeks or a moneth hence at farthest, for which I must entreat you to lett me haue yt. I intend to send sacks or casks for yt."

Lucy Downing, Emanuel's and Lucy's eldest daughter was very independent and evidently quite intelligent and attractive, for she had three suiters at the same time, namely, William Norton, John Harwood, and Thomas Evers.

Lucy Downing's seeming preferance for Thomas Evers or John Harwood, made difficult and embarrassing trouble for Emanuel Downing in arranging her marriage with William Norton, the brother of the Rev. John Norton of Ipswich.

Marriage of Lucy Downing to William Norton

The letters of Mrs. Lucy (Winthrop) Downing to John Winthrop, Jr., on Dec. 17, 1648, and to her brother John Winthrop on Feb. 1648/9, are most revealing, — "My daughter Lucie was a little goeing to be maryed to Mr. Evers sonne, Thomas, I meane, but he had not yet art enoughe to carye his ship, so they turnd backe, and nowe wee are upon an earnest motion with Mr. William Norton. The man is verie fayer, but she hath not yet forgotten Evers his fresh red, but hath gotten some obiections concer(n)ing Mr. Norton, wich are nowe sent to be answeerd by Mr. John Norton, and I doubt not his fidelitie, and he hath declared much likeinge of Lucie to his brother, and intents of good to him, if he match theer."

In the 2nd letter to John Winthrop, she writes; — "I am very sory my daughter Lucie hath caryed things thus vnwisely and vnreputeable both to her selfe and her frinds. Her indiscreet words both hear and theer, haueinge bin spoken to people noe wiser then her selfe haue given much ocasion of offence, and vniustsuspitions of our inforcement of her to Mr. Norton, and her seeming loue to Mr. Evers, and yet as they nowe suspect, by her owne late words, her affections to be most inclininge att least to John Harwood. If so theer wayes, what euer the mans deserts otherwise be, hath hitherto bin vnapprouable att all, and neither of them to be excused or trusted. I am therefore bould in a rude maner to desire her from him, but moste vnwillinglye from my good sister, and the rest of her frinds. If my daughter Nan could but starch a little better, I should be very glad she might supply her place, but in that respect I cannot desire for presnt.

For Mr. Norton I suppose he is in the Bay and theerfore howe things are theer you maye better know then my selfe. I am very sorry for iniury he hath had ocassioned by her. I hope the Lord will doe him good by all."

The Rev. John Norton, (A.B., Peter House College, Univ. of Cambridge, Eng., 1623/4, and A.M. 1627), pastor of the Church at Ipswich, Mass., and in 1652 took Rev. John Cotton's place at the 1st Church, Boston, was the older brother of William Norton, in whose behalf he wrote on Jan. 26, 1648/9 a letter to John Winthrop, Sr. The letter follows, — "Sir, so it is that my brothers affection and heart being nowe set vpon Mrs. Luce his first encouragement from hir father, then hir mother, which I mention not without the acknowledgement of their loue to him, and very contentfull to me therein, and since this last weeke a mutual engagement on all hands respectively, Mrs. Luce free and cheerfull, my selfe beeing an eye and eare witnesse, in passing hir consent therein, besides the many expressions since of hir contentment taken therein, and his heart further engaged; therefore it seemes on John Harrold that liueth with you hath vnseasonably, and (I leaue it to your wisdome if soe hee haue done) howe sinfully, so practiced and disturbed hir, as that vpon a suddaine shee hath vnexpectedly and greiuingly vnto him, seemed to recede from him in hir affection, and so, without any other expressions on hir part, hee was constrained to leaue hir.

Sir, my desire to your selfe is that for my sake you would consider vs both hearein, vse some meanes to remedye that John Harrold's doinge my brother and me in him so much and vnseasonable wrong I cannot but wonder at the practice of that young man, as I am informed, but I reckon my selfe safe vnder your shelter in that respecte, so farre as you shall see cause.

Several particulars my brother hath beene too much wronged already in, whome I thought none had beene so sorely disaffected to, as this plot, for surely so it discouers it selfe, sheweth some to bee.

Sir, — my brothers heart is much, very much troubled, and set vpon hir, nor doth hee hearken vnto any nowe but hir, heere or elsewhere, which mooueth me the more to write for your helpfulnes heerein. I shall not further trouble you, in hope you will both ease him and me in time."

Postscript, — "Sir, remember me to Mrs. Luce, let not J. Harrold knowe I haue any mention of him vnto you; it seemeth hee hath a letter as it is called you may learn by Mrs. Luce."

Emanuel Downing also writes Gov. John Winthrop on Dec. 15, 1648, concerning the financial prospects of William Norton from his relatives

in England. Emanuel Downing is nowe in great favor of the William Norton with his daughter Lucy. And it is quite evident that her mother Lucy (Winthrop) Downing is equally as much in favor of the marriage, I quote from a long letter of hers to Gov. John Winthrop; — "I am glad to hear what you writ of Luce. I had a letter since from Mr. Norton. He writs what I think maye well take of what was obiected in very good measure; and I cannot question his fidellitye theerin. All mens constitutions are not alike nor to be expected perfect. But I wishe Luce maye rather looke into her selfe then ouer curioslye apou others; and then it maye be more for her good." Emanuel Downing's letter (in part), follows; — "I haue proceeded soe farr with Mr. Norton conce(rning) my daughter Luice that wee are agreed vpon — portion, and am satisfied from the minister about the obiections made against him; he would haue gone for England this yeare, and will yet goe, if he shall see noe hope of gayning hir love; the minister informes me that his brother is verie plyant to him in all things, and there is great expectation from help of freinds, having 3 vnckles in London childles, 2 of them haue fyned for Aldermen (that is, they have money enough to avoid service as Aldermen, by paying a fine). He hath a brother who writes (the letter I read) that he will send him 500 or 1000li worth of goods yearly and beare the adventure to and fro. The benefitt his london brother aymes at is to haue retornes made to Barbados to supply his sugar workmen. I pray encouradge my daughter herein, for I suppose shee will not haue such a preferment (if this fayle) in N. E."

On Jan. 22, 1648/9 he writes Gov. John Winthrop again of the final arrangements for the marriage, which probably took place in March or April 1649. The letter of Emanuel Downing; — "Sir, this day Mr. Norton (who preached here yeasterday) is retorned to Ipswich. He cam to make vp the bargaine for his brother, with my daughter; wee haue received fayre answeares to the manie obiections made against him, there was noe mention of any letter from Boston. After full hearing, my wife, my daughter and my selfe consented freely to proceed, vnles within a few dayes vpon further light wee should haue just matter presented to give cause to breake of. I haue sent my daughter to supply my sisters want for present. Mr. Norton desires hir speedy returne, but I referr hir to my sisters occasions for hir longer or shorte stay there."

It is of interest to note that William and Lucy (Downing) Norton, became the ancestors of more distinguished descendants than did her brother, Sir George Downing, namely their son, Rev. John Norton (Harvard 1673)

and 3rd minister at Hingham, Mass., and 1st minister to occupy the pulpit of the "Old Ship" Church, of Pres. John Quincy Adams, Charles Francis Adams, the Civil War Minister to the Court of St. James' England, Prof. Charles Eliot Norton of Harvard University, Rev. Addington Davenport (A.B. & A.M. Harvard), Minister at King's Chapel, Boston, 1737 to 1740, Trinity Church, Boston 1740 to 1746.

The careers of a considerable number of the descendants of Emanuel Downing present a genealogical and sociological phenomenon of interesting significance. Some of his descendants who remained near Boston, Springfield and New Haven were educated at Harvard and Yale, and early became leaders prominent and distinguished citizens in Massachusetts and Connecticut. But those who settled in New Hampshire and Maine, cleared the forests, tilled the soil, manned the ship-yards and ships, the fishing crafts, the grist, and saw-mills, and the malting rooms. However (many years later) when these pioneers had gained an homestead and a competence, the children of these descendants of Winthrop-Downing-Norton stock with its alliances with sound families were, in the past two centuries, educated at Dartmouth, Bowdoin, Bates, Colby, University of Maine, Harvard, Yale, Boston University, Tufts, and Cornell, and became Chemists, Engineers, Lawyers, Doctors of Medicine, College Professors, Legislators, Ministers, and Business executives, matching the careers of their relatives of the 17th century.

The accomplishments of these settler-descendants of Emanuel Downing, as compared to those of a multitude of people around them, do not yet demonstrate that Behavioristic Psychology tells, but that "blood does."

Attention to Special Funds

When Emanuel Downing was living in London, Eng., there were some funds, placed in his hands, that a search of the published Colonial Records do not reveal the purpose, (either for the education and Christianization of the Indians, or for the transportation of children for plantation work, or neither), nor is there mention of when and where expended.

In 1630/31, Mr. Edward Howes, a law clerk of Emanuel Downing in London, wrote to John Winthrop, Jr. of Groton, Eng., a letter (partly in code) saying that "two men from Mr. Weld's (Thomas) in Essex brought money for New England to Mr. Downing" and added, "Mr. Weld sent 30 pounds."

Then on 13 Nov. 1644, the Colonial Records state, "The Court thinks it just that the Treasurer do give Mr. Downing an acquittance of what he hath

paid into the treasury & that Mr. Downing giue an account to the Co't what children were taken into the ship & their names, also where those children landed, & to whom they were deliv'd."

On Oct. 18, 1645, "Mr. Hibbens, Mr. Sparhawke & Mr. Rawson are appointed a comittee to take the account of Mr. Downing & Mr. Nehemiah Bourne, for ye debt ye last year, Mr. Downing was questioned for, if it may be in ye seting of ye Co't or also before ye ship goes for England & they haue power to sumons, to appoint the time of meeting for yt end & either to signe him or ym a bill to ye treasurer, if any thing be due him or ym or ym from ye Country, or to use all the means they can as ye law affords to p'cure wt is due ye Country from him or ym as shall appear."

Emanuel Downing went to England late in December 1644, and on March 3, 1645 he wrote from London, Eng., to John Winthrop, Jr. at Ten hills near Boston, "My Good Cosen, — I wrote you at lardge an account of your buisines per Mr. Willoby. I haue not yet receiued any monie for you. They haue promised the 100li which I think they meane to pay shortlye, soe soone as they can gett yt togeather; Mr. Weld and I are agreed soe soone as Mr. Graves shipp should be gone hence to cleare the Account with Maior Boorne but I am prevented by his suddaine and vnexpected goeing away with Mr. Graves. Mr. Bourne tould vs that he would be ready to goe with vs in Mr. Andrewes shipp, soe that I much marveyled at his goeing with Mr. Graves he having putt in his name to be an vndertaker in Mr. Andrewes shippe. If there shalbe any thing spoken or moved by him in the Court concerning the Account, I pray procure a stay thereof till I come."

And again one reads in the Colonial Records for 4 March 1646, "Mastr, Treasurer, Mr. Auditor Gen'all, & Mr. Sparhawke are appointed a comitee to examine all Mattrs of Accounts mentioned & desired to be audidet by ye bill of Mr. Wells with Mr. Downing & any other whom such account may concern & they are hereby authorized with power to sumons any inhabitant amongst vs, at their appointed time to give in their account to them so a true report of what they find in ye p'mises made be made to ye next session of ye Co't."

This Account seemed to have been settled satisfactorily and honorably for Emanuel Downing kept representing Salem, Mass., in the General Court (State Legislature) and was at its sessions as late as 10 May 1648, and the General court granted him land on 23 May 1651, "Whereas it appears by the records of the Court Numb. 436, that six hundred acres of land was graunted to Mr. Emanuel Downinge which he afferms was in consideration of fifty

pounds by him disbursed in England, in which answer to his petition it is ordered that sd six hundred acres of land shall be laid, — between Hampton and the River Mouth of the Pascataqua." But on "10 Sept. 1653 — land graunted near Dover, N. H."

Emanuel Downing soon sold this 600 acres of land to Mr. Rawson, and on "27 May 1671 Richard Rawson sold to Peter one half of 600 acres bought of Emanuel Downing of Salem, Mass."

Financial Status in 1654

In 1638 when Emanuel Downing came to the Massachusetts Bay Colony, he was not a rich man, but certainly well-to-do. However after ten years, Mr. Downing, because of the loss by fire of his house (called Groton), the marriage dowers and marriage portions for his daughters, and even the probable loss of the 10li debt of Nathaniel Eaton, the first Master of Harvard College, as he wrote Gov. Winthrop Jan. 9, 1639, "I know not how the buisines stands for Mr. Eaton's debts, whither I must loose that 10li or no," because of less lucrative law practice (though many clients in land disputes), than in London, England, found himself in much debt and in straightened circumstances. He was unable to pay the mortgage held by Hu. Peter on the Mansion-house at Salem, Mass., and even Rev. H. Peter roughly wrote to John Winthrop, Jr. on June 4, 1654, "Mr. Downing is not honest, owes mee 100li for which his house is bound to mee." And on March 3, 1654, "Your Uncle Downing is at your brothers (in London) no preference yet, nor debt payd" and on the same date Hu. Peter wrote Charles Gott, "Mr. Downing owd me 180li, no body would seise the horse he made over to mee."

On March 1649 Gov. John Winthrop died, and on April 2, 1649 Emanuel Downing wrote John Winthrop, Jr. "I do condole with you for the losse of our Governour, which lyeth soe heavy on my hart as I knw not how to remove yt."

Final Return to England and Scotland

His debts, and the death of his last intimate friend and close associate of his generation, Gov. Winthrop, definitely determined his plans to return to England. Although he labored on at Salem, Mass., with characteristic optimism planning new undertakings with John Winthrop, Jr.; during this time (1649-1654) we find seldom any anxious note, excepting an occasional reference to son George and "My Busines" in England.

Lucy Downing no doubt, was as anxious as Emanuel to return to England,

for her prophecy for fearing, "such hardship there, and that we shall spend all, ere wee be settled in a course to subsist even for food or rayment," did come practically true within ten years. Thus Lucy Downing was anxious for "my busines" (probably official position in England through the aid of son George), to succeed, and wrote with considerable, and almost nervous concern on Feb. 23, 1650, to John Winthrop, Jr., "I receiued yours concerning the Jhonswort but it was then too late, beinge the(n) in dayly expectation of my sonn Nortons return, I was not willinge to write till I heard from Eng. My sonne came in Dec. but our letters beinge put in a pack of goods, and the goods came to Ipswich but tis last week, wee had not our letters till now. And nowe all Georg writs is that he is now returnd from Scotland, and is still in a hurry of busines, and was that night by commaund to goe to the armye wich he expected was then near the borders of Scotland, and that he had formerly writ to vs twice this year, and not one word of the busines wee last spoke of one way or other; so as my husbands confidence the busines is on foot, and Georges silence, put vs att a great stand and quandary, especially in respect of other accidents and dependencies that depriue vs of prosecution in person or letters, considering if it be miscaryed no small opposites — and my brother Kirby affectionat commends. He sayth his cosen Georg is the only thriveing man of our generation. Mr. Winsloe tould him he is a purchaser, but complaynes of his owne sonns sufferance in respect of iudgment, being Presbiterian, and for that depriued of liuinge and benefit of the lawe for recoueringe their debts, so as he is forced to keep him and his."

On the margin of her letter Lucy adds, "Thes letters we never had. Georg was but 2 dayes in London and all that with the Councell of State.

My husband had noe letter from Georg at all."

Emanuel Downing as early as Dec. 1644 had acquired an interest in John Winthrop, Jr.'s Iron Works as attested by the following bond; — Whereas John Winthrop Jr. esqr. hath put me into the Ironworke as an adventurour and given me credit for fiftye pounds therein; and given me tyme for the payment of the said 50li till my retorne next yeare out of England, if therefor I shall not pay him the said 50li before the first day of September next, that the said 50li shalbe and remayne to the sole and proper vse of the said John his heirs and assignes forever. Witnes my hand this 16 of December 1644. Witness Adam Winthrop." Em. Downing

But by December 1645, Mr. Downing had turned over his shares to John Winthrop, Jr. and Thomas Vincent of London, Eng.

"Bee it knowne to all men by these presentes that I Emanuel Downing of Salem in New England in Consideration of the sune of sixty pounds sterling to me in hand payd by John Winthrop, Jr. Esqr. in cattle & other goods, doe assigne & set over vnto Thomas Vincent of London all my right & interest as an vndertaker in the Iron Works, wherein my part & share is fifty pounds, as by theere bookes wherein the vndertakers shares & adventures are sett downe doth & may appeare, to haue & to hould the said share vnto him and said Thomas his heires & executors, with all the benefits & profitts thereof forever, Witnes my hand & seale this 30 day of October 1645.

Emanuel Downing & a Seale

Witnes John Coggan, Willm. Aspinwall

In 1648 Emanuel Downing started a new venture for increasing his income. He set up a Still for making "strong water." In fact his intention and the state of his finances are quite revealed in a gossipy and business letter to John Winthrop, Jr. at Pequoyt, on June 12, 1648, "The merchants of Salem are sory you accepted not their propositions for the making of salt. The Witche is condemned, and to be hanged tomorrow, being Lecture Day. A Woeman of Exeter caryed some catle to Dover to buy Corne, who with hir Corne received 3l in monie for hir catle, and in hir returne to Exeter was murthered and hir monie taken away; yts not yet knowne who did yt." And in a postscript, showing his straightened circumstances there is a pitiful reference to the sale of his horse to finance his stilling business, "I have even now sold my horse to James Oliver for 10l to purchase the still, I pray remember me about the German receipt for making strong water with rye meall without mauling of the Corne, I pray keepe a copie, in case the noate you send me should miscarye. Vale."

Seven days later Emanuel requests John Winthrop, Jr. for tymbers to be paid for in Strong water, "I Pray send me by the first safe Conveyance, the tymbers with the price, for which I shall reterne your pay in strong water." The following week he tells John Winthrop, Jr., "I am now fullie furnished for my stilling buisines, and doe purpose the 3rd or 4th day next to send an horse for goodman Toy; if he comes not the 2nd day, I pray send for him, and I hope he shall not need much intreating to come, seeing yt was his owne offer, with a desire to see some books I haue about stilling the which I shall shew vnto him." Thus on Dec. 17th, he adds, "I haue wrought in stilling these 3 moneths, the water I make is desired more & rather then the best spirits they bring from London." Also on the 17th of December Lucy gave to John Winthrop, Jr. at Pequoyt, her rather hopeful account

of the stilling business, "Our stillings I thinke might be pritty strong but that all the rye was eaten up allmost before the Indian was gatherd. Could you but teach vs to kern rye out of the sea watter, that inuention I question not would quicklye make the still vapor as far as Pecoite, and the Indians I beleeu would like that smoake very well, for the english hear haue but 2 obiections against it, one its too dear, 2 not enough of it. Cure those, and we might all haue implayment enough at Salem to make lickwuors, and it is wee could haue custome ten times more then pay."

We hear no more of the stilling business either in Emanuel's or Lucy's letters. But in a letter addressed to John Winthrop, Jr., on July 18, 1650 shows the distressing aftermath of the sale of his horse to finance the still, and also reveals very reasonable concern in "My Business."

"Sir, — As I wrote to yo^r brother, I doe truly say that I had not gone to Boston but to meet yo^r selfe there, and having noe horse, I dare not vndertake to foote it againe suddanely. I haue not one letter this year out of England. When I was last in London I left a buisines wth S^r Arthur Hasilerig and George, who both pmised to gett it dispatched for me. When S^r Arthur read it, he said yt was verie honest and of great value to ye Comon wealth; yts of more valem than I will speak of. One hath written to hir freind here that such an act is past, whereby I vnderstood the buisines to be done, but he to whom the letter is come knowes not that it concernes me. The Deputy (Endicott) shewed me the letter to vnderst(nd) the news therein. I hearing nothing from my sonne or any about yt, putts me to study. This I heare from them that sawe the writings, that George hath purchased 300li. p ann^m in land, wch putts me in some hope. Here is noe one that I dare impart my mynd therein, therefore I should haue ben glad to haue mett wth you before yo^r deptyurn."

In an earlier letter, Emanuel speaks of the above purchase, and witness, "My sonne George hath sent a letter to his mother wherein he mentions 2 letters sent before which I haue not received; in this letter he writes not a word of my buisines. I heare by divers, of his purchase of or 300 l per annum; my sonne Norton (then in England, Feb. 24, 1650), saw the last payment at Mr. Winslows chambers."

In spite of debts, of anxiety over the delay of an official position in England, Emanuel Downing courageously as usual, works at his law practice, seeks an overseer for his West Peabody farm (called Groton), and continues helping John Winthrop, Jr., on his several projects, as well as keep-

ing him informed (by letter), of the progress of the Civil War in Ireland and England.

He wrote John Winthrop, Jr., of the bloody conquest of Ireland by Oliver Cromwell, and on April 29, 1650 he speaks of Rev. Hugh Peter, the former pastor at Salem, Mass., and the step-father-in-law of John Winthrop, Jr. "Your ffather Peters is a Collonell and Governour of Milford Haven," and again on March 7, 1651, he informs his "ever honored Cosen John Winthrop, Esq. at Pequorte" of the state of the Civil War in England, and of "My Buisines." "I suppose that you haue heard the good newes out of England long ere this, how the Scotts King marched into England with 22000 as ferr as Worster without any opposition. Massy his generall assured the king that all England would come vnto him, but he was refused entranced vntill he came to Worster, by all the townes he cam by: the Scotts army was not increased above 5 or 6000 by all the Englishe that repayred vnto him; Collonell Monck surprised all his treasure (in Scotland) which he had provided to carye with him for the payment of his army, and with yt tooke old Lesley and divers other principall men; When the King cam to Glocester where Massy had ben Governour, the King sent to the Governour to surrender to him with great promises of preferment, the Governour sends, answeare and directs yt to him not as King but Commander in Cheife of the Scotts army and tells him he was better principled then to be traytor to the Parliament who had intrusted him, Generall Cromwell writes that at the taking of Worster, there was 4 howres as hard dispute as ever he mett with. In this fight Massy was slayne (Emanuel was in error. Massy was only wounded) the King threw away his George, star & garter, and fled as a comon soldyer, is gott into France where he found cold enterteynment. Worster was given to the soldyers to plunder, most of the army was taken or slayne, Earle of Darby beheaded, Earle of Cleavland and manie more lords in prison, Scotland submitts, the Lord St. Johns, Sir Henery Vane, Collonells Lamberton, Harrison, Deane and my sonne in October last were sent into Scotland to setle it (as Wales is). The records of Scotland are sent to the Tower of London. There is an act past for the keeping of the 3d of 7ber a day of thanksgiving for ever, for the victory of Worcester that day, and the great victory of Dunbar that day 12 month, where George received 3 great wounds on his arme besides others but is well againe. There is an act to punishe all heresyes with death that rase foundations, and all Anabaptists to be banished, and if they retorne to England to be hanged vnles they recant.

At Lyn here is good store of salt made. They prepare their liquor in

woodden pans as I am informed. I thinke long to see yt. George writes my buisines is not yet done, neither could he stay to effect yt."

Then on March 15, 1652, Emanuel Downing writes to his nephew John Winthrop the heartening news about Joshua Downing's appointment to a place in Scotland through the aid of his brother George, and the invitation of Rev. Hugh Peter, for Lucy to visit England, — "There were letters alsoe from Mr. Peter to your selfe who invites you to retorne to England, and writes that if my wife will retorne shee shalbe as welcome to him as to hir owne childe. George hath putt Joshua into a Customes place in Scotland. I haue had noe letters from Joshua nor any from George in answeare to any thing I wrote to him; he wrote a short loving letter to my wife, and excuseth his not sending any thing to hir in regard to the troubles at Sea. Scotland is quiet. The Dutch haue proclaymed warr with England, with whom there have ben divers Sea fights, and in everie of them the Dutch haue ben worsted. The Spaynyard hath by the helpe of the English regayned Dunkirke. Cardinall Maseryne hath left the French Court and is retyred to the boarders, yet France continues still on fire. Ensigne Dixie, as I wrote sayth your pan is not worth the double loading and vnloading, and therefore adviseth John Gallop to come to Salem and receive yt there, but if I can prevaile yt shalbe sent to Boston, where Mr. Norton is like to succede in Mr. Cottons place.

"I suspect George would haue vs retorne, and putts Mr. Peters vpon the Invitation." — and on Feb. 14, 1652 he continues, — "Mr. Winsloe writes that the State of England expects wee should deall with the Dutch here as enemyes. Collonell Lamberton was appoynted to be Deputy of Ireland, made preparations for yt, but, (in the interim) Collonell Charles Freetwood marrieth Ireton's widow, Generall Cromwells daughter, wherevppon Fleetwood is appoynted Deputye, to the great discontent of manie that should haue gone with Lamberton. There is not considerable force with the rebells of Ireland or Scotland."

"I heare nothing from George nor Joshua about my buisines. Mr. Peters writes that George doth well to wonder, I suppose he meanse wonderfull well."

By Sept. 26, 1654, it is evident that Emanuel Downing had received favorable news from his son George about "My Buisines," for it was then that he triumphantly announced the victories of Major Sedgewick in Nova Scotia and Maine, and also gave notice, in a letter to his nephew John Winthrop, of his expected trip (in November) to England with General Sedgewick; — "I suppose you haue heard of the taking of St. Johns, Port royall, Penobscott from the French by Maior Sedgewick, Portroyall only made a

litle resistance, where 2 men of ours were slayne and fowre French men whereof one was their cheife Preist. There was a shipp lately arived from France which the soldiers plundered, yt had 16 great guns which Generall Sedgewick tooke into his owne ships, and gave the shipp to the French to carye them home, there was found among the Preists clothes a manuscript contayning the rules of their government, which are more divilish then Machivills.

Here is newes come from Newfoundland that the State of England sent a fleet to surprise the French at Canada, but because the yeare was farr spent they retorned with resolution to come early in the Spring, the newes alsoe is that warrs are proclaymed with France, here be Shippes expected dayly out of England who will the truth of it.

I should haue ben glad to haue seene you here this summer. I am now purposed God willing to goe for England with Generall Sedgewick, which wilbe within these 2 moneths at furthest if not sooner; if I could I would make a iorny of purpose to see you, vnles you write Captaine Cane to prevent it, I may haue much trouble about the subscription for the Iron works."

After five anxious years, Emanuel Downing now in England, found a successful conclusion to "My Buisines," for we read in the Caledar of State Papers for the year 1655, page 152, the proceedings of the Council of State, on May 4, 1655 this laconic statement; — "to advise his Highness that nine be the number of the Council in Scotland — and Emanuel Downing their Clerk."

Summary of Emanuel Downing's Activities and Memorials

Before relating his 4 or 5 remaining years as clerk of the Council of State in Scotland, we may well take a survey of the events and activities in his life, and the services of Emanuel Downing to individuals and to the State.

1. Professionally, he was a lawyer of the Inner Temple, London, Eng., at the Court of Wards and Liveries, at Dublin, Ireland, at Salem, Mass., Register of Deeds, Salem, and Clerk of the Council of State, Edinburgh, Scotland. In his business and in his law practice he made many trips over the Irish Sea, and crossed the Atlantic Ocean nine times.

2. In service to the State, he defended the Massachusetts Bay Charter and Colony, Advisor to Gov. John Winthrop and other officials, a member of the Massachusetts General Court, a member of and investor in the Massachusetts Bay Colony and Company.

3. As a farmer and businessman, he had land at Nelms Eng., Salem

Village (Proctor's Corner, West Peabody, Mass., Mansion-house at Salem, Mass., raised cattle at Natick and at Salem Village, and farmed the Groton Estate; he had an Export-import business in England from 1629 to 1637; he invested in most of the undertakings of John Winthrop, Jr., such as Iron Works, salt works, and probably in the Lead mines, and in his own Stilling business, as well as actinng as Business-Agent for John Winthrop, Jr., and others in England.

4. Genealogically, he became (a) through his daughter Mary (Downing) Stoddard, the ancestor of Rev. Solomon Stoddard (A.B. Harvard) 1st elected Librarian of Harvard College, and noted Pastor at Springfield, Mass., of Samson Stoddard, founder of Stoddard, N. H., of Rev. Jonathan Edwards (A.B. Yale) and of Edwards' distinguished descendants, of General William Tecumseh Sherman of Civil War fame, of the Deacon Family (industrialists) of Bridgeport, Conn., of Aaron Burr, Vice-President of U.S., and of Judge John Trumbull, LL.D. of Connecticut.

(b) and through his daughter Lucy (Downing) Norton, he became the ancestor of Rev. John Norton (Harvard 1673), pastor of the "Old Ship" Church, Hingham, of President John Quincy Adams, Charles Francis Adams, U. S. Civil War Ambassador to the Court of St. James,' of Professor Charles Eliot Norton of Harvard University and of Rev. Addington Davenport (A.B. & A.M. Harvard), 1st minister of Trinity Church, Boston, Mass.

(c) through his son Sir George Downing, he became the ancestor of the great-great-great grandson Francis Annesley, LL.D. First Master (1801) of Downing College, University of Cambridge, England.

5. By the way of Memorials, through his son Sir George Downing, the Downing name has been given to a famous street, and Prime Minister's residence in London, England, known as 10 Downing Street.

(a) Through his great-grandson the 3rd Sir George Downing, the name is perpetuated by Downing College, University of Cambridge, England.

(b) And Emanuel Downing named his home at Salem village, Mass., "Groton" in honor of his wife's home at Groton Manor co. Suffolk, England.

(c) His name again is attached to a College, for his grandson, the 2nd Sir George was a benefactor of Clare College, Cambridge, England.

(d) And through the will of Sir Robert Naunton, who in 1634 made a provisional bequest for the foundation of a college at Cambridge, — "Emanuel Downing to be one of the Trustees for that purpose."

(e) And finally through the diplomacy and scheming with the Duke of York (later James II), Sir George laid the foundation for the military expedition to American waters and to the demand on New Amsterdam, and

it was Sir George's cousin John Winthrop, Jr., the Governor of Connecticut who sent a letter, in reality an ultimatum couched in friendly terms, to Peter Stuyvesant demanding the surrender of New Amsterdam to King Charles' forces. On Sept. 8, 1664, the town capitulated. Thus 10 Downing Street in London, and the event that changed New Amsterdam to New York has forever linked those two great cities with the name of Downing.

6. The children of Emanuel Downing.

by his 1st wife Anne Ware, daughter of Sir James Ware.

1. James Downing born c.1614/5 came to New England with Gov. Winthrop in 1630, went to England 13 Aug. 1635 about two years after the death of his grandfather Sir James Ware; was in London, Eng., May 10, 1637. On March 6, 1636/7 James Downing was in Holland with Mrs. Peter the wife of Rev. Hugh Peter, and returned to London soon after; returned to the Massachusetts Bay Colony, probably with his father in 1639 or at least by 1640. It is reported that he married, lived at Ipswich, Massachusetts. and left descendants.

2. Mary Downing, born c1617; came to America with Gov. William Coddington and sister Susan in 1633. She is called Marie. She married about 1639 Anthony Stoddard (1614-1686/7) a well-to-do Linen merchant of Boston. She died at Boston, Massachusetts, June 16, 1647, and she has a long list of rather distinguished descendants, as Rev. Jonathan Edwards, Aaron Burr, Vice-President of the U.S., her own son Rev. Solomon Stoddard, 1st Librarian of Harvard College, and able minister of Springfield, Massachusetts, and many others.

3. Susan Downing, born c.1620; came to New England in 1633 with Governor William Coddington; she lived with Governor Winthrop from 1633 to 1638/9. She may possibly have married, as his 2nd wife, Robert Roberts of Ipswich, Massachusetts.

Children by his 2nd wife, Lucy (Winthrop) Downing, the daughter of Adam Winthrop, Esq., Groton Manor co. Suffolk, England.

4. Sir George Downing was born at Dublin, Ireland in Aug. 1623, and died at East Hatley, Cambridgeshire, England, between July 7 and July 11, 1684. He came to New England in 1638; was graduated from Harvard College Sept. 23, 1642 (Oct. 3); returned to England in 1646; he was chaplain in the regiment of Col. John Okey; in 1649 at the age of 26 years he was made Scoutmaster-General (equal to Major-General) in Cromwell's New Model Army; envoy to the Duke of Savoy; in 1656 member of Parlia-

ment from the Scotch borough of Haddington in Scotland, Resident Minister of Cromwell, and later of Charles II, in Holland, in 1667 Secretary of the Treasury, knighted by Charles II in 1660, made Baronet in 1662/3; married Frances Howard, daughter of Sir William Howard, and sister of Charles 1st Earle of Carlisle. Sir George Downing together with James Duke of York (later James II) planned and had much to do in making New Amsterdam English and renaming it New York.

A restudy of the records has resulted in giving Sir George Downing a much more respectable character and more favorable evaluation of his service to England as a diplomat and Secretary of the treasury. He won all his diplomatic missions save one when he left his post to attend his seriously ill wife. For this act he was sent to the Tower of London. However there are three acts of his that justify very harsh criticism, and from these springs his ill reputation. They are as follows, his capture of the regicides in Holland, and their return by him to King Charles II in England, and 2ndly his failure to aid his old Pastor and family friend Rev. Hugh Peter, and lastly his refusal to augment the small income of 23 to 25 pounds per annum of his mother that she received in rent from her farm in Salem Village, Massachusetts, called Groton. Although his acts were strickly within the law his acts were unfeeling, and he deserves the scorn thrust upon him.

5. Lucy Downing was born probably at Groton, England, in the early months of 1625, for Lucy Winthrop Downing her mother was at Groton Jan. 14, 1625 and was still there on Feb. 13th of that year according to a letter of John Winthrop. Since George Downing was born in 1623, and James Downing and "Little Luce" were visiting at Governor John Winthrop's house in London in 1627 the same year that her brother Joshua was born, so the most likely year in which to place Lucy's birth in 1625, she died at Ipswich, Massachusetts Feb. 5, 1697/8; she married in 1649 William Norton and they had a long list of distinguished descendants as Rev. John Norton, minister of the "Old Ship" Church, Hingham, Massachusetts, Rev. Addington Davenport, 1st minister of Trinity Church, Boston, Massachusetts, President John Quincy Adams, Charles Francis Adams, Civil War Ambassador at the Court of St. James, London, and Professor Charles Eliot Norton of Harvard University, and others.

6. Joshua Downing was baptized at St. Brides Fleet St. London 1627; married Frances c.1657 at Glascoe, Scotland; Collector of the Port of Glascoe

1653; probably had a son Joshua. After the Restoration of Charles II, he may have returned to Barbadoes, where he was previously in 1648.

7. Robert Downing (called Robin), was baptized at St. Brides Fleet St., London, England, March 24, 1628/9. He was a seafaring man at Barbadoes and between Ireland and England. He was at Colchester, England, in 1646; living in 1651. Possibly he was lost at sea in 1653. There is no mention of him after 1651.

8. Adam Downing born 1630/1, died young.

9. Anne Downing, baptized at St. Brides, Fleet St., London, England, April 12, 1633; died at Salem, Massachusetts, Apr. 19, 1713; married 1st Capt. Joseph Gardiner Aug. 9, 1656. He died Dec. 1675; she married 2nd, Gov. Simon Bradstreet, June 6, 1676. In her will she left homestead to her Wainwright nieces, and other property to her nephews John Norton (Rev.), Hingham, Massachusetts and to Bonus Norton of Hampton, New Hampshire.

10. Martha Downing, born in 1636 in London, England; came to New England with her parents in 1638; returned to Scotland with her mother Mrs. Lucy Winthrop Downing about late 1656/7; she married at Edinburgh, Scotland about 1659 Capt. (John? or Richard?) Peters. She had one son John Peters (called in his grandmother Lucy's letter Jacke) possibly educated at Oxford University, and one daughter Lucy Peters (Spicer). They lived in Gardiner's Lane between King Street and Duke Street, City of Westminster, London, England.

11. John Downing, baptized at Salem, Massachusetts, March 1, 1639/40; lived Nevis, West Indies; probably died while on a visit to Boston, Massachusetts, April 29, 1694. Probably left a son Nathaniel Downing.

12. Dorcas Downing, baptized at Salem, Massachusetts, Feb. 7, 1640/41; probably died young.

Clerk of the Council of State for Scotland (Edinburgh, Scotland)

There are no clear data concerning Emanuel Downing's activities for four or five years at Edinburgh, Scotland. We know Lucy Downing joined him there but the date is uncertain. Their daughter Anne Downing was married at Salem, Massachusetts, on Aug. 9, 1656 to Capt. Joseph Gardiner. Mrs. Lucy Downing on Aug. 8, 1656, the day previous to the wedding of her daughter Anne, conveyed "with the consent of her hauband the messuage (The Salem Mansion-house and land) to Joseph Gardiner," as her daughter

Anne's dower and marriage portion, therefore it is probable to conclude that Lucy and her daughter Martha Downing sailed for England and Scotland the latter part of 1656 or early 1657, for Emanuel and Lucy Downing are both writing letters from Edinburgh in 1657.

All the extant letters of Emanuel Downing, while at Edinburgh deal with matters helpful to John Winthrop, Jr., and to his son Fitz-John Winthrop. So Emanuel continues to play his usual role of loyal uncle and faithful advisor. Fitz-John Winthrop arrives in England and on Feb. 2, 1657 he hears from Uncle Emanuel, — "My good Cosen; — I am glad Providence hath brought you safe into these parts, and shall reioyce to haue your companie here and if you meet not with imployment there, my advise is when the season will premitt, that you come downe hither. I know your vncle Reade wilbe glad to see you and verie ready to helpe your accomodation."

On the following March 27th, 1658, Emanuel sends a letter to John Winthrop Jr., inviting him to Scotland and also speaks of Lucy and daughter Martha, as better affected to Scotland than he expected, and of course the usual foreign news; — "I would be very glad to hear from your self of the health and wellfare of you and yours, and more should I rejoyce to to enjoy your companie, if Provydence should so order it. Your Aunt and Cousin Martha are better affected with Scotland then I expected. Wee are heer in a comfortable way both for the means of grace, and for the outward man. — The great talk heer at present is of the King of Swedens, who taking advantage of this late frost, the like wherof haue not been since the memory of man, carried his Army over and subdued the principle parts of Denmark, and possest himself of the Island, wherby he hath the one half of the benefeit of the passage th(rough) the sound, and hath confined the King of Denma(rk) to his Northern parts of his Cuntry and layed a fyne vpon him of two hundred and fyftie thousand pounds, and to give satisfaction to his father in law, the Duke of Holstein for all his damagis, his cuntry being the seate of war. And further to allow the King of Swedens four Regiments of horse and foot and free quarters for his Army vntil May."

And then he suggests that his son Fitz John and his brother Col. Stephen Winthrop who were then in England could give him better news.

Lucy Downing was equally solicitous of Fitz-John Winthrop's welfare as was her husband Emanuel. She from Edinburgh, Scotland, Jan. 30, 1657/8, "I am exceeding glad to heare of your safe arrival in England, and that my deare nephew your father, and all his are in good health. Your vncle Collonell Reade was, a month or two since, with us, and did express a good desyre to

invite one of you to come over to him, and that his only discourragment therunto was in respect of the vncertainties of his owne lyfe; — but now you are come, I question not but he will be very glad to see you, and to vse his best endevoures for your preferment; and if any thing in my husbands power, I know he will not be wanting to the same purpose. Therefore I shall hope, except my cousin Peters take vow of, vpon a better accompt there, that wee shall haue the happines, ere long, to see you here, to whom you shall be more welcome then opportunities now permitts to expresse.”

Lucy Downing informs John Winthrop of Emanuel’s willingness of helping Fitz-John. In this letter also it is evident that Emanuel lived to learn that his son George had been sent by Cromwell to Holland as Resident. Lucy speaks of her favorable condition and that of son Joshua, etc; — “Collonell Reade was with us about three months agoe; and then was wishing for one of your sons; about a moneth since he was here againe; then I delyvered him a letter from Mr. Symonds and told him, that it came by your sonn, who he said should be very welcome to him, and he should be studious for his improvment, as farr as in his power.” — “My sonn George was sent resident for Holland the begining of Janvary, and I hear he hath taken a house there for a yeare, therefore I am in little hopes of his speedie returne. — My sonn Gardiner is gone to one of the Stats frigotts for several ports, and I think the Barbados is one. — My husband and wee all, I blesse God, haue had our healths prettie well here, although the winter hath been more sharpe and stormy then vsuall, and I expect you will here the same of England and other places, which hath been occasion of much distrucy, both at sea and land; but in this place is much defence by the strong stoun buildings, plentye of good fyreing, warme cloathing and good provisions for food, which are all helps; and I think without diaparragment, both for the civill government and the ministry, wee never enjoyed more. Mr. Collins is a man very precious, and of eminent parts, and wee haue him and two more excellent men, allowed by his Highness for the Councill. They all preach by tours before the Councill at the English Church. — My sonn Joshua and his wyfe, I blesse God, are in good health, and they live very comfortably at Glasgow, (he is collector for Glascoe) which is a place comended far above this citie; they haue as yet no child, and did he know of my wrytting he would not be neglectfull in tendring his service.”

In a postscript to the above letter, Lucy adds an amusing remark about her amanuensis, at the expense of her husband (in her own handscript); “My

scribe is a Scott, and makes such pittifull English, next to nonsense; but he only wayts on my husband, and is not imployed for the councell busines. My cosen Fits is not yet come to us. My husband is very Myndfull of him, if in his power to sute him with an implyment, but my husban purposeth to write to you himselfe."

The whole Downing family, including son Joshua and wife Frances, at Glasgow, and daughter Martha were anxious to help cousin Fitz-John Winthrop and welcome him to Scotland. It was an established habit for Emanuel and Lucy Downing to be helpful to relatives.

Joshua Downing from Glasgow on Sept. 7, 1658 sent to Fitz-John Winthrop the following; — "These are to present my owne and wiues and sister Marthas kynd loue unto you, — I hope that you will excuze us in not entertaining you better; you weare welcome to what you found & shall be againe, come when you will; and if God seeth meete at any tyme to raise me to a higher fortune, I shall be very gladd my friends should be partakers of it." And again from Glasgow Apr. 7, 1659 Joshua continues, — "Yor louing liens I receaved by Quarter Master Dyer, for which I heare returne you many thanks. I maruell you put yor selfe tosoe much pains as to wright soe longe a letter; wee hope this sommer wee shall haue ye happines as to see you in these parts. Wiues hath a great desire to haue another jeorny to Pasly." And Frances, Joshua's wife, on the same date adds her words of invitation to Fitz-John, in much better English and spelling than the others used, — "For my very good Cosen Mr. Winthrop, Governor of Cardros Castle these,"

"Dear Cosen, — Your louing letter I receaved from you in the winter weare of such greate worth, that indeed had I had an opportunity to haue answered, I should haue iusly deserued to haue bin blamed, but for wante of that I hope I may be excused. We should be gladd to see you in our pore cottage this somer, if your lesure permitts againe; for we are reddy for you to go with you to Pasly, but I hope wee shall not make you mad as wee did before, that hea (ring) you are made a governor, you will haue stoddyed for much of it that you will be able to giue us good councell when the time shall come that wee shall have the happines of youre good company."

From Edinburgh, Scotland, Martha corresponds with and welcomes Fitz-John Winthrop on Dec. 29, 1658, — "I hafe recefed youre kinde later, tho I am not worthy of such fauer from youre hand. I am glad to heare that

you eare in helte. My brother and sister at Glascoe are uary well. I had a later from them. My mother is uery weeke steele, which is a great greafe to mee; and to change my condicione I hafe no minde to that." However in her letter of Feb. 10, 1659 she speaks quite openly about changing her "condicione." "My brother Downing is at our hous; Mr. Peters and I am grone grate strangers." Mr. Peters and Martha were soon married and they lived in the city of Westminster, London, England.

The letter of Emanuel Downing, dated Sept. 6, 1658, informing Fitz-John Winthrop of his favorable relations with his Uncle Co. Thomas Reade, and of the state of his hopes for preferment in the Commonwealth Army, speaks of the illness of his Highness (meaning Oliver Cromwell), saying he is "now prety well againe." Emanuel did not then know that three days before (Sept. 3) Cromwell had died in London. This event was the beginning of the end of Emanuel's career.

Sept. 6, 1658, — "I am glad yt pleaseth our heavenly father to continew your health in these Northern parts; yts a blessing which calleth for thanks to heaven, for manie haue mett with much sicknes vppon the change of the ayre.

You haue noe cause to be troubled about your buisines for that its not retorned according the tyme you expected the same, for his highnes hath ben verie sick and is now prety well againe, and I hope shortly will fall to dispatch buisines; and whereas you desire my counsell, I must tell you that you haue great cause to blesse God, who hath vnited your vncles hart vnto you, who is resolved to make it his buisines to setle you in a way of preferment, therefore let me advise you to acquiesce in him, and in him alone vnder God; as for your other place intreat your vncle to write to your Maior for further tyme; but the truth is, I conceive it not worth the while whither you hold the intended place or noe, and not worth the spending the favour of a friend for it."

Fitz-John received the rank of Lieutenant and later that of Captain in General Monek's Army.

In May 1659 Richard Cromwell quite unable to play the role of his father, resigned as Protector. Now it was evident that the restoration of the Monarchy under Charles, the Second was only months away, and that drastic changes would take place in England and Scotland.

The alert and intelligent Lucy Downing by June 1, 1659 was thoroughly aware of possible serious change in their condition in Edinburgh, for she wrote on that date to Fitz-John Winthrop, — "Deare Nephew, — I am heartily glad to heare of yo'r good health and beseech you to present my humble thanks to the Coll. & his Lady, for their kind invitation, but at pres't wee are wholly taken vp in waiting to Comonwealths pleasure what will be done for Scotland, and till then our condition is foundationlesse, all former interests being disolu'd by the p'st changes."

Indeed were their condition at Edinburgh becoming "foundationlesse." Soon the Monarchy would be restored; in a few months Emanuel Downing's closest friend, Sir Arthur Haselrig, who opposed in Parliament the resolution to restore the Monarchy under Charles II., would (as he was in 1641/2) be in the Tower of London, and die there; his old Pastor, and Chaplain to Oliver Cromwell, Rev. Hugh Peter, as a regicide, would pay for his rash and fanatical sermon against Charles 1st. with his life on the gallows.

The last days of Emanuel

The world that Emanuel Downing knew, and his old friends were gone. His day was over. At this juncture, in his 75th year about 1660, beneficently, the records were closed for Emanuel Downing.

His life had a favorable beginning at the height of the Elizabethian era, his youth and student days were spent in the comparative yet tense, calm of James I. His career of great struggle and constructive service in England, Ireland, New England, and Scotland, came during the stormy period of Charles I, and Prince Charles, the Civil War, and the Commonwealth, a time of variety and ferment.

Now he would never dream again of the Duck-coys in the ponds of Salem in New England; nor would he ever warn a Winthrop "of cold and wett, especially of the feet are two great traytors to your health and must be watched verie narrowly, verie narrowly;" nor would he be pained again by the rejection by the General Court of Massachusetts, of his petition to abrogate the law against the Anabaptists; he would not hear again the tinkling of the tea cups, or Lucy's serious retorts or witty quips on some topic of the day; nor would he now search the Institutes of Sir Edward Coke for laws applicable to discussion at tomorrow's Council meeting, nor trace the origin of a law tempore Edw. III, and he would never again glance at the Castled

heights of Edinburgh, bathed in the afterglow of the setting sun, an afterglow that would presage the advent of another day.

Lucy (Winthrop) Downing

No narrative outline for a Life of Emanuel Downing would be complete without some further consideration of his wife Lucy Winthrop, who died 19, Apr 1679. She had lived on for about nineteen years after her husband's death, ten years in the Manor-house of her son Sir George Downing at East Hatley, Cambridgeshire, England, and about nine years with her daughter (Mrs. Martha (Downing) Peters, the wife of Capt. John Peters) in the city of Westminster, London, England.

Lucy kept up a large correspondence with her nephews and with her children, and was quick to welcome friends and relatives from New England.

Usually in her letters, she was cheerful and showed a zest for life, but now and then complaining of illness due (as she thought) to falls from horses in New England & England, of trouble with her ears, and dizziness, and indeed at times at her son George's unwillingness to supplement her 23 pounds per annum income from rent of Groton Farm in New England, and nevertheless taking pride in George's Knighthood and successes. She always kept a happy balance between the zest of her youthful way and the slower pace of age. Her grand-son Rev. John Norton in a letter to his cousin Governor Winthrop of Connecticut wrote then on Aug. 17, 1674, when Lucy was 73 years old, — "We haue lately heard from my grandmother Downing by word and writing; — Mr. Samson Stoddard and Elder Browne of Salem were with her in London. Mr. Browne saith she lookes as well and is as cheerful as she was twentie years agoe."

From Lucy Downing's letters one would judge that her intellectual powers were equal to if not better than those of her brother Gov. John Winthrop, of John Winthrop, the Younger, or of those of her husband Emanuel. Her letters show imagination, shrewdness, subtle expression, and strength of style. We may be sure, had Lucy Downing been a man she would easily have matched the career of her son George, or had she lived in our age of the 20th century she might be a reformer, a Legislator or a Senator, a woman leader of our time. As it was she became the guiding influence in her children's lives, and a sustaining help to her husband.

Of course no one would maintain that ancestral traits could descend, pure and simple, through three hundred years. Yet (as a family phrase), one could imagine, that a descendant of Lucy, observing the aggressiveness, the intelligence, and the fullness of life in his alert American daughter, might approvingly remark to his wife, "that's the Lucy Winthrop Downing in her, Bless her."

FINIS



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- (31) Records at Ipswich Hist. Soc. Mass.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The writer of this "Narrative Outline for a Biography of Emanuel Downing," now expresses his appreciation to the Massachusetts Historical Society, for its permission to quote letters in part or in toto from the correspondence of Emanuel, and Lucy (Winthrop) Downing, (as they appear in the published Winthrop Papers), and to reproduce by photoprint one letter each of Emanuel, and Lucy (Winthrop) Downing; to Richard Perley, Esq. and Family of Salem, Massachusetts, for granting the right to quote from their father's History of Salem, Massachusetts, and to reproduce a drawing of the Game Preserve; to the Essex Institute, for permission to print the drawing of the Mansion-house, owned by Emanuel Downing at Salem, Massachusetts, and for the photoprint of the Deed of the "Groton Farm," Salem Village, Massachusetts, from Charles Downing, Esq., London, England (Emanuel's grand-son), to Thorndike Proctor (1701); to the Methuen Co. Ltd., London, England, for permission to publish a photograph of the painting of the Court of Wards and Liveries, (1584), and a photograph of the Old Hall - Inner Temple, London, England, at the time of Emanuel Downing; to the Ipswich, Massachusetts Historical Society, for permission to reproduce the portrait of John Winthrop, Jr.; and to the Boston Athenaeum for its courteous permission to reproduce the portrait of Sir George Downing, and that of the Lynn Gentleman, conceivably a portrait of Emanuel Downing. The writer is especially grateful to the staff of the Boston Athenaeum, for its kind and solicitous attention and response to his requests and needs.

Frederick Johnson Simmons,

The Simmons Homestead,

Morrill, Maine

June 16, 1959



Some Descendants of Emanuel Downing, from Waldo County, Maine

1. 1. Adam Winthrop, Lavenham, co.
Suffolk, Eng.
m.
Joane Burton.
2. George Downing. Beccles, co.
Suffolk, Eng.
m.
Cecely —
2. Adam Winthrop, 1498-1562, Gro-
ton, Eng., London Merchant.
m.
Agnes Sharpe.
3. George Downing, B.A. Queens Col.,
M.A. Corpus Christi, Univ., Cam-
bridge, Eng.
m.
Miss Belamy.
3. Adam Winthrop, 1548-1623, Alum-
nus of Cambridge Univ. Eng., Law-
yer.
m.
Anne Browne. - 1629.
4. Emanuel Downing, Trinity Hall,
Univ. Cambridge, Eng., Lawyer of
The Inner Temple.
m.
Lucy Winthrop.
4. Lucy Winthrop, 1600-1679.
Sister of Gov. John Winthrop.
5. Lucy Downing, 1625-1697/8,
Sister of Sir George Downing, 1623-1684,
m.
William Norton, 1624-1694.
6. Bonus Norton, 1658-1718, Quaker, Malster, Farmer,
brother of Rev. John Norton (Harvard Col. A.B. 1671)
m.
Mary Goodhue, 1665 - after 1718.
7. Mary Norton, c1685-
m.
Daniel Moody, 1680-
8. Joshua Moody, 1718-
Scarboro and Jefferson, Me.
m.
Elizabeth —

9. Amos Moody, 1748 —
Nobleboro, Me.

m.

Elizabeth Chamberlain.

10. John Moody, 1783-1868,
Nobleboro and Belfast, Me.

m.

Margaret Ludwig, 1785-1853.

11. Rosann Moody, 1806-1875,
m.
Nathaniel Simmons, 1804-1889.

11. Elizabeth Moody, 1820-1884,
m.
Nathaniel Jackson, 1811-1899.

12. Margaret Simmons,
m.
A. K. Jackson.

12. Nathaniel Loren Jackson,
m.
Elzira Hatch.

12. John Simmons,
m.
Angelia Hutchins

12. Mary Simmons,
m.
Richard Woodbury.

12. Nathaniel Simmons,
m.
Abbie Patterson.

12. Allen J. Simmons,
m.
Addie Ray.

12. Nahum L. Simmons,
m.
Annie M. Brown.

12. Margaret Simmons,
m.
A. K. Jackson.

13. Leander Jackson,
m.
Pearl Carter.

- 13. Nathaniel Loren Jackson,
m.
Etta Merrithew.
- 13. Myra Jackson,
m.
Geo. Weymouth.
- 13. Nathaniel Loren Jackson,
m.
Etta Merrithew.
- 14. Fred Jackson, successful merchant,
son of Irving Jackson
m.
Mabel Hatch.
- 14. Nellie Jackson,
m.
Blaine Woodbury.
- 15. Wendell, Kerry, & Bryan Woodbury.
- 12. John M. Simmons, m. Angelia Hutchins.
- 13. John P. Simmons, Civil Engineer, B.S. Univ. of Maine.
- 13. Charles Hutchins Simmons, m. Myrtle Nash.
- 14. Allen Simmons, m. Major in U. S. Army, World War II.
- 15. John Moody Simmons, 3rd.
- 15. A daughter.
- 12. Mary Simmons, m. Richard Woodbury.
- 13. Sadie J. Woodbury, m. Russell Stephenson.
- 13. Abbie Woodbury, m. Hollis Moody.
- 14. Richard W. Stephenson, m. Ruby Fairbrother.
- 15. Ralph S. Stephenson, m. B. A. Univ. of Maine Phi Beta Kappa, M.A. Texas Western College, Lieutenant U. S. Army.
- 15. Thomas Lincoln Stephenson, 3rd, Senior U. of M. 1959.
- 15. Elizabeth Stephenson (Case) A.B. (Hartford, A.M. N. Y. State Univ.)
- 15. Mary Stephenson, Grad. Washington State Teachers College.

15. Rose S. Stephenson, B.S. & R.N. Bates College.
15. Robert L. Stephenson. Many years U. S. Navy.
12. Allen J. Simmons, m. Addie Ray.
13. Mary Simmons, m. Frank Wallace.
14. Frank Wallace, Grad. Marshall College.
13. Georgia Simmons, m. Walter Neal.
14. Ray Neal.
14. Dr. Allen Neal, V.S.D.
13. Lawrence Nathaniel Simmons (Allen), m. Adelia Holmes, Grad. M.C.I.
14. Ralph Morse Simmons, m.
15. Richard Allen Simmons, A.B. U. of M. Phi Beta Kappa.
13. Ardria Simmons (Allen), m. Arthur Payson.
14. Harold Payson, m. Ethel F. Dickson.
15. Capt. Paul Payson, m. Jeanne Day, one daughter Cynthia born in Germany, A.B. (Maine) Phi Beta Kappa. Several brothers and sisters.
15. Marjorie Simmons (Charles H.), m. Paul Vosburgh. Children, Paul and Charles Vosburgh.
13. Arline Simmons (Nathaniel & Abbie), m. Walter Cooper. Grad. Coburn Classical Inst. One daughter.
13. Winnifred B. Simmons, m. Chester Boice Allen. Grad. Economics Tutor. W.P.I. & Goetengen, Germany.
14. Chester B. Allen, Jr. m. Jane Reeve, A.B., A.M., M.D. Mills, Utah, Chicago. B.A. & M.D. Harvard.
15. James Reeve Allen, Harvard class 1961.
15. Chester B. Allen, 3rd.
15. Susan Harriet Allen.
13. Grace B. Simmons, Grad. Maine Wesleyan Sem. & Female College, B.S., B.U. Principal of Junior H. S.
13. Roscoe N. Simmons, m. Signe Nelson. Grad. Butler School for Nurses, R.N.
13. Harry G. Simmons, m. Helen Maloy. Banks Bus. School, Bookkeeping and Supervisor of Mechanics.

13. Frederick J. Simmons (Nahum L.) B.A. (Maine), Ed.M. (Harvard), Prof. in Keene Teachers College.
13. Edmund P. Simmons (Nahum), m. Alice Yorde, Kent Hill School.
13. Joanna P. Simmons, m. George O. Richardson. H.C.I. & Private tutor. Teacher in U.S. and China.
14. George O. Richardson, Jr. m. Rita E. Griswold. A.B. Wesleyan, Lieutenant in U. S. Navy, World War II.
14. ~~Riv~~bert S. Richardson, ~~B~~^ME., M.M.E. Cornell University. World War II.
13. Hugh L. Simmons, m. Alice Maloney, M.D. Tufts, Instructor at Tufts Medical.
14. Hugh L. Simmons, Jr., B.S. Boston University.
14. Robert Allan Simmons, m. A. B. Tufts. Bank employee, he has son Bradley Simmons.
14. Bruce D. Simmons.
13. Myra Jackson (Nathaniel L.), m. George Weymouth. E.M.C.S. Teacher.
14. Keith Weymouth, m. Gladys Achorn (Cand. B.S. at Maine 1960). A. B. Colby.
15. Karolyn Weymouth, m. George McCleod, B.S. Gorham, Ed.M. Maine 1961). B.S. Gorham Teachers College.
14. Hilda Weymouth, m. Elwyn Sheldon (Husson College). B. S. (Maine) Teacher.
15. Children Jean, Gerry, and David Sheldon.
13. Blanche Jackson (Nath. Loren) m. Everett Fenwake, son Maymard.
14. Millie Jackson, (Loren) m. Granville Dutton. Children, Robert Dutton, Jeane Dutton.
14. Dr. Elizabeth Hafe Jackson (Leander), A.B. Smith, M.A. Mich., Ph.D. Colorado, Professor of English, Maryville College.
14. Robert F. Jackson (Leander), A.B. & Ed.M. Bates, Superintendent of School, Capt. in U.S. Army, World War II.
14. Esther Shirley Jackson (Leander) (Mrs. Hurst) A.B. Maryville College. Two children.
12. Olive A. Jackson (Nathaniel), m. James Clary.

13. Lizziemae Clary, m. Scott-Adams Webber.
14. Olive Clary Webber, m. Clinton D. Edgett. Grad. Genesie Wesleyan Sem., and Pierce's Business School New York City.
15. Richard Wirtiss Edgett, m. Conception Gambos. B.A. Oberlin College (Teacher).
15. Norman Scott Edgett, B. Chem. Eng. Bucknell University 1960.
15. Elizabeth Ann Edgett, Senior High 1960.
14. Sherwood Adams Webber, m. Blanche Caulking Mackay, Cornell and Pittsburg Colleges, Registered Architect.
15. Sherwood Adams Webber II, m. Cebolyn Currier. Grad. Penn State College, Gov. Course at Bucknell University, (Teacher of Science). Children (1) Sherwood Adams III, Laura Webber.
12. Burton Nathaniel Clary and family.

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